ORIENTALS IN AMERICAN LIFE

ALBERT W. PALMER

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BY

ALBERT W. PALMER

AUTHOR OF "THE HUMAN SIDE OF HAWAII"
"THE NEW CHRISTIAN EPIC," ETC.

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ALBERT W. PALMER was born in Kansas City. When he was three years of age his family moved to California and he grew up in Los Angeles and Santa Barbara. He graduated from the University of California in 1901, studied theology at Yale and obtained his B.D. in 1904. In 1922 he received his D.D. from the Pacific School of Religion and an LL.D. in 1930 from Olivet College. After ordination as a Congregational minister at Redlands in 1904 and an assistant pastorate there for three years, he became pastor of Plymouth Church, Oakland, which he served for ten years. Then followed a ministry of seven years at the Central Union Church of Honolulu, a period in which he had exceptional opportunities to continue the study of Oriental peoples already begun in California. During 1919 Dr. Palmer served in Siberia with the Army Y.M.C.A. of the A.E.F., where he saw the backwash of the war as Kolchak's army retreated before the Bolshevist forces. He has since made another journey to the Far East and has traveled widely in Europe and the Near East. On returning to the mainland United States in 1924 Dr. Palmer entered upon a pastorate of five years at the First Congregational Church, Oak Park, Illinois. Since 1930 he has been President of The Chicago Theological Seminary and Professor of Practical Theology. Dr. Palmer was on the original committee out of which the Institute of Pacific Relations has grown and is a well-informed student of social and religious movements among Orientals living in the United States. His published works include *The Human Side of Hawaii*, 1924, *The New Christian Epic*, 1929, and *Paths to the Presence of God*, 1931.

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TO SARA WEDD PALMER

MY WIFE AND CONSTANT COMRADE

IN MISSIONARY INTERESTS

AND INTERRACIAL FRIENDSHIPS

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CONTENTS

FOREWORD: WHAT'S BEHIND THE ORIENTAL MASK? ix

I. THE TRANSFORMATION OF CHINATOWN 1

The Old Chinatown—Chinatown Today—New Forces at Work—New Appreciations—The Lure of Gold—Early Popularity of the Chinese—Jack-of-All-Trades—Victims of Mob Law—Economics and High Visibility—Moral Problems in Chinese Communities—The Curse of Opium—To the Rescue!—Sober Facts—Tongs, Good and Bad—Exclusion Laws—Good Purposes, Bad Methods—A Life Story and Its Sequel.

II. WHAT ABOUT THE JAPANESE? 37

The Japanese Family—Chinese and Japanese Contrasts—Agricultural Traditions—The "Gentlemen's Agreement"—Anti-Alien Land Laws—Immigration Declines—Dual Citizenship—The Japanese Language Schools—Japanese Industriousness—An Exemplary Record—Public School Record—Can Japanese be Assimilated?—Buddhism in America—Examples of Assimilation—The Mind of Youth—Unmitigatedly American.

III. AMERICA'S NEWEST ORIENTAL—THE FILIPINO 73

American Policy in the Philippines—Filipino Immigration—The Filipino as a Laborer—The Filipino Community—Filipino Churches—Typical Filipino Problems—The Newest Oriental Arrival—Filipinos in an Urban Setting—Interracial Complications—The Filipino Community Center.

IV. LIGHT FROM HAWAIIAN EXPERIENCE 103

An "Ethnological Museum"—Imported Oriental Labor—Racial Comparisons and Contrasts—the "Aloha" Spirit—A Brown Skin No Handicap—Missionary Trail Makers—A Christian Corner-stone—The Present Task of the Christian Church—Christian Teaching and Environment—Two Grave Dangers—Self-Government *vs* Military Government—The Socio-Economic Problem—Eventualities.

V. THE RIDDLE OF THE FUTURE 138

Psychological Handicaps—Economic Barriers—Anti-Social Occupations—In "Fairport" and "Middleville"—The Story of Martha Matsu—Wanted: A Personal Contact—The Other Side of the Question—Irritating Discriminations—Two Possible Solutions.

VI. HOW THE CHURCH CAN HELP 165

Pioneer Christian Workers—A Family Roll of Honor—A Blind Editor—Some Oriental Parishes—Throughout the Union—Buddhism at Work—Questions of Future Policy—Suggestions for Improvement—The Training of Ministers—Responsibility of the American Churches—Students From Abroad—Nothing Less Than Christian Brotherhood!

TABLE I 198

TABLE II 199

ANNOTATED BOOK LIST 202

INDEX 209

FOREWORD

WHAT'S BEHIND THE ORIENTAL MASK?

TO THE Western mind the Oriental seems to wear a mask. There is something inscrutable about him —his face, which seems so unresponsive, his eyes which tell no certain meaning. To those who do not know them well, all Chinese, Japanese or Filipinos seem to look alike. They do not have those variations of hair and coloring or even of features which make it so easy to tell us Occidentals apart; and this uniformity, because of its very strangeness, sometimes seems ominous—a kind of uncanny, depersonalized, robot-like regimentation which is not quite human, and might prove sinister in a crisis.

What's behind the Oriental mask? This might well have been the title of this book. What has been written in the pages which follow is an informal but realistic effort to see beyond race differences to those universal human traits and problems, those common emotions, needs and aspirations, the recognition of which alone can make us understand each other across the barriers of race.

All social relationships tend to harden into rigid forms and ceremonies—a sort of secular ritual as strictly

enforced by popular opinion as any churchly liturgy. There is a ritual of clothes, for example, which determines what may be worn in swimming or playing golf or at the opera. There is an etiquette of masculine or feminine behavior, which, while considerably shaken of late, still prescribes some things "no gentleman" or "no lady" will do. A bow, a hand-shake, a smile, a "thank-you" are bits of social ritual. Some of these conventionalized attitudes are valuable. They save time and protect us from unpleasant and even dangerous situations. There is a ritual of sportsmanship, for example, the full value of which is only appreciated when we encounter groups or individuals who disregard it. Sometimes, however, this social ritual is cruel and harmful: witness the duelling code and the feuds of blood-revenge still lingering in backward areas of our country and in some other lands.

Now it is in the realm of racial contacts that fear, misunderstanding or ill-will are especially apt to crystallize into a ritual which, once established, becomes so rigid and authoritative that only those willing to face ostracism and even crucifixion can deny it, no matter how unjustifiable and irrational it may be. Such a code in its extremest form is the caste system of India. The struggle of the Christian missionary on the one hand and Mr. Gandhi on the other, in behalf of the Hindu "untouchables," reveals with tragic realism the tremendous difficulty of changing a social code, no matter

how cruel, when once it has entrenched itself in the accepted costumes of a country.

Fortunately for us here in America, our racial attitudes towards Oriental peoples are still flexible in the main. They have not yet crystallized into ritual. Before they do so it is important to see behind the mask and realize, after all, how genuinely likeable, how overwhelmingly human the Oriental is. If we do this in the next few years we may escape from our fears and achieve a wider outlook of appreciative understanding. To the people of the churches in America this should make an especially strong appeal. If we can discover behind the Oriental mask a Christian brother, perhaps we can so influence the whole body of public opinion that it may be characterized more and more by sympathetic good-will and intelligent insight in regard to these capable and fascinating people. Then the ritual, as and where it grows up between us, will be one of justice and sportsmanship, not of harshness and fear, one of open doors instead of closed, one of human unity rather than estrangement, of Christlike understanding rather than indifference or dislike. To this great end this book is dedicated.

A. W. P.

Chicago
February, 1934.

I

THE TRANSFORMATION OF CHINATOWN

ONE of the most remarkable and encouraging transformations in the history of any American city has taken place in the forty years since the writer first saw the Chinese community in San Francisco. To his boyhood eyes, and in what he felt to be the judgment of the community at large, the Chinatown of that day seemed foul, uncanny, vicious and a menace to the life and well-being of the community. That this was a prejudiced and utterly inadequate understanding made no difference. Prejudice sees what it wishes to see and is blind to all else.

THE OLD CHINATOWN

Those who know only the picturesque Chinatown of today can hardly realize what the Chinatown of the eighties and nineties was like. It was dirty, overcrowded, rat-infested and often diseased. It was poorly built with narrow alleys and underground cellars and secret passages, more like a warren of burrowing animals than a human city. It seemed uncanny because inhabited by a strange yellow race who wore "pigtails,"

talked an outlandish lingo in high falsetto voices, were reputed to eat sharks' fins and even rats, and to make medicine out of toads and spiders, and who sprinkled garments for ironing by sucking their mouths full of water and then squirting it out over the clothes. And Chinatown was accounted vicious because it was the haunt of gambling, opium smoking, lotteries, tong wars and prostitution, where helpless little slave-girls were bought and sold.

Of course in less prejudiced moments a California boy of the eighties and early nineties viewed this Oriental section of every Western town more favorably as a place where firecrackers were obtainable at any season of the year and delectable *li-chee* nuts were sold, and where, on Chinese New Year, these strange, uncanny Celestials displayed remarkable generosity, keeping "open house" and liberally dispensing to all visitors paper cones of cocoanut candy and other delicacies. Also, certain rather queer persons who took religion very seriously used to teach in Chinese Sunday schools and report favorably on the diligence and gratitude of their pupils. Moreover, by the turn of the century, people had come to feel a certain appreciation of Chinese art and colorful Chinese clothes and decorations.

But, on the whole, Chinatown, up to 1895 at least, was regarded as a sinister place full of bad smells, abnormal human beings and moral and physical contamination—a menace to the community, especially if

smallpox, cholera or bubonic plague should become epidemic.

All this is now vastly changed. I visited the Chinese community in San Francisco, several such communities in fact, in the summer of 1933 and checked my observations by consulting well-informed American friends about them, as well as the Chinese themselves. The result seems to be, on the surface at least, that Chinatown today is regarded as clean, quaint, moral, honored and beloved.

There is no longer any question as to its cleanliness, in San Francisco at least, for the fire which was caused by the earthquake of 1906 burned the old rookeries to the ground, and a new Chinatown, while still congested in population, has arisen with a normal arrangement of streets and alleys. Its structures are built in accordance with the code—all is sanitary and clean.

CHINATOWN TODAY

Indeed, Chinatown today is not only clean but quaint, a sort of permanent exhibit of the Orient, colorful and exotic, set down amid the gray uniformity of American city life. The architectural and decorative embellishments of its buildings are often typically Oriental in color and design. Here are shops which allure tourists with displays of Oriental art, and joss-houses on the upper floors of "benevolent association" buildings, where friendly guides sound deep-voiced gongs, burn incense, shake the fortune-telling sticks before the

gloriously carved and colored shrine of Kwan-yin, the goddess of mercy, and dispense souvenirs—for a consideration!

Other things not necessarily designed for tourists interest them none the less. The playground filled with chubby, black-eyed, bobbed-haired little Chinese children, the telephone exchange built like a Buddhist temple and arranged so that visitors can watch the deft Chinese girls who operate the switchboard and are said to know every name and number in the Chinatown exchange by heart, the curious signs and still more curious articles on sale in the corner stores, the Chinese theater with its gorgeously bedecked actors, its informal stage, its raucous orchestra and its ubiquitous but nonchalant property man, and the "Shanghai Low" and "Canton Low" and other chop suey restaurants with their fragrant, appetizing, strangely named but fascinating Chinese food—all these make the Oriental quarter today an asset and not a liability to a great tourist center like San Francisco.

And Chinatown has even become more moral, though a race, conditioned by motion-picture mind-sets in this particular, may be slow to believe this, and might be disappointed to learn that it is true! At all events the Chinese section is much more moral than it used to be. If gambling and lotteries exist they are not in evidence to the passer-by, opium smoking may continue but it is not seen, the tong wars seem to be decreasing, and it is generally admitted that the traffic in slave-girls

is practically stamped out. When the World Christian Endeavor convention met in San Francisco in 1931, Captain Duncan Matheson, head of the San Francisco detective bureau and a staunch Presbyterian as his name implies, said to the Endeavorers: "I urge you young people to go down and see Chinatown because it has less crime per capita than the best residential sections of this city." Inspector Manion, head of the Chinatown squad of the police department, verified this in 1933.

In the old days the term "Chinatown guide" had signified a cynical, hardened specialist in vice who led horrified patrons through opium dens and parlors of iniquity, dim passages and forbidden places. This type of guide is now replaced by organized tours in charge of a very intelligent young Christian Chinese, Mr. Ching Wah Lee, who gives his patrons "a cross-section of Chinatown," showing its social and religious life, its quaint customs and distinctive institutions, but nothing to shock the most delicate sensibilities!

NEW FORCES AT WORK

Now, what are the forces which have effected this dramatic transformation? They are many, all of them interesting and some of them vastly instructive for social engineering and Christian citizenship in places other than the Oriental sections of our cities.

In the first place, as has been suggested, there came a new start physically when, after its complete destruc-

tion by earthquake and fire, Chinatown arose from its ashes cleansed, better ordered and better built.

A second beneficial influence has been the closing of the infamous San Francisco "Barbary Coast" with its dives and immorality. This sink-hole of iniquity, through no choice of their own, had always been the most immediate and intimate neighbor of the Chinese in San Francisco and had the effect of debasing and befouling the entire neighborhood. When, during the War, the federal government, as a protection to its soldiers, insisted on the closing of this, the most shameless segregated district in America, a great benefit was conferred, incidentally, upon the Chinese section of the city. One of the many handicaps under which Chinese, like all foreigners but to an even greater degree, have labored, is that they have been forced to make their homes in city after city among the very moral dregs of the population. It seemed to be assumed that because they were Chinese they had no moral rights or standards which the rest of the community need bother to consider.

A third influence in the cleaning up of Chinatown, in San Francisco at least, has been what seems well-nigh miraculous elsewhere—an honest and efficient police administration! For some years back a big-hearted, honest, Irish, Roman Catholic policeman, Inspector Jack Manion, has headed the Chinatown squad, while social and religious workers like Donaldina Cameron, who has struggled against the white-slave traffic

almost all her life, and Charles R. Shepherd, who wrote *The Ways of Ah Sin*, testify as to the efficient and courageous police protection he has given. When asked by a Chicagoan if he could be secured to clean up Chicago, Inspector Manion replied: "Yes, if I could take my Chinatown squad with me!"

Another force, or rather two closely allied forces, making for the transformation of Chinatown, is the awakening interest and intelligence on the part of American people for things Chinese coupled with a subsidence of the fear of an Oriental inundation. These two things go together. First, the subsidence of the fear. In the old days white California felt itself to be a thin front line of white civilization holding a Pacific Coast frontier, far removed from Eastern centers of power and population, and in peril of being submerged by a veritable flood of Oriental labor. Now, fear is a great disturber, and it largely created the old Chinatown. It did this partly, in fact, by herding Chinese into narrow, squalid quarters and surrounding them by hatred and suspicion; and partly in imagination, by creating the weird and distorted picture of their outlandish character suggested in the opening paragraph of this chapter. Chinatown was never quite so bad as the prejudice and fear imagined it!

NEW APPRECIATIONS

But now this fear is largely gone. Oriental exclusion, however crudely and unwisely arrived at, and in spite

of inept diplomacy and shameful brutality, has at least done this good, that it has delivered the American from fear of submergence under a flood of Asiatic immigration, and so cleared his vision of the Oriental and made an appreciative spirit possible. And just now, happily coincident with an increasing clarity of vision, comes a rising tide of international understanding and something approaching a real appreciation of Chinese art and civilization. We see the Chinese today, not as queer, repulsive yellow masks and dangling queues, but as the bearers of a great civilization, with art, philosophy, marvelous physical stamina and a destiny of profound potential influence in the world of tomorrow. All this helps us to see quite a different Chinatown from that of forty years ago.

Yet another influence which remains to be noted is the influence of education and of Christian mission work and institutions. A new generation is growing up, and while it is not proportionally as large as among the Japanese, yet it does leaven the lump of Chinese population. Commodore Stockton School, a great public school in San Francisco, with 1300 pupils, is practically all Chinese, although there has been no attempt at a segregation of Orientals since 1906, and there are many Chinese as well as white children in the Jean Parker School near by.

Even more intimate and definite as a transforming influence are the various denominational missions and the Christian institutions such as the Y.M.C.A., the

Y.W.C.A., and the various homes and schools for boys and girls. The proof of this is not only the physical presence of these institutions but the growing place of leadership occupied by those who have grown up under their influence. The first time the writer tried to call on Secretary Tang of the Y.M.C.A., for example, he was startled to learn that he was out attending a meeting of "The Six Companies"! Only a Californian who remembers the abuse born of fear and hatred which has been heaped on this central organization of Chinatown in past years can realize how surprising it was to find a Y.M.C.A. secretary sharing its counsels. And who of us in the old days realized that there was nothing sinister in its name, which simply grew out of the fact that it sought to promote the welfare of Chinese coming from six districts of Kuangtung Province, and that its official title really was "The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association"?

But are there no fighting highbinders, no tong wars, no evil of any sort in Chinatown? Is everything as idyllic as the foregoing paragraphs suggest? By no means! So now, perhaps, the time has come to look more closely at the whole Chinese population in the United States and at their problems.

THE LURE OF GOLD

Chinese began coming to the Pacific Coast in large numbers when other people did. The discovery of gold in 1848 brought about the discovery of California, and

to this day San Francisco is known among the Cantonese as the "Old Gold Mountain." [1] Practically all the immigration from China has been from a few densely-populated districts in the vicinity of Canton where economic conditions have been very hard. These Cantonese used a dialect not understood by a very large part of the Chinese people and were by no means typical of all China, though they were very adventurous and enterprising. From this same region in the extreme south of China have come most of the eight million Chinese that have migrated to almost every part of the world. In 1852 it is estimated that 20,000 Chinese arrived in America. In 1854 the number was 16,000. From then on the annual rate varied between three and five thousand. In 1869 the number of arrivals leaped to 12,874, and in 1870 to 15,740. Then, for two years it dropped to 7,000, but reached the high peaks of 20,000 in 1873, 22,781 in 1876 and 39,579 in 1882.[2] Many returned to China, however, and the United States census records the total number of Chinese and Japanese in continental United States as follows:

	Chinese	*Japanese*
1860	34,933	.....
1870	63,199	55
1880	105,465	148
1890	107,488	2,039

[1] Huie Kin, *Reminiscences*. Publishers, dates and prices of all books mentioned in the text are given on page 202.

[2] Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1926.

	Chinese	*Japanese*
1900	89,863	24,326
1910	71,531	72,157
1920	61,639	111,010
1930	74,954	138,834

The continual increase of the native born should, however, be noted. For example, in the 1930 figures 41 per cent of the Chinese and 49 per cent of the Japanese are American born, so that the foreign-born Chinese and Japanese in the United States today are only 44,086 and 70,477 respectively.[1]

EARLY POPULARITY OF THE CHINESE

The Chinese were received at first without prejudice and even with enthusiasm. They were mild, unobtrusive and industrious and they fitted in. California needed labor and there was room for everybody. Although mostly agriculturists at home, they adapted themselves to the new country and became not only miners but laborers in many fields. San Francisco used to send its laundry even as far as Hawaii [2] to be washed, cooks were scarce and housemaids unobtainable in mining camp days, for this was a man's civilization and women were very few.

The Chinese had no prejudice against doing "women's work" and so started laundries, and became the cooks and housemaids, even taking care of babies and

[1] U. S. Census of 1930. Vol. II.
[2] Jones, "Cathay on the Coast," *American Mercury*, No. 8 (1926).

generally substituting for women workers—so much so that when it was first suggested that they be employed in railroad building serious doubt was actually expressed as to whether they were strong enough for such hard labor. They proved their masculine hardihood, however, and did a lion's share of the hardest work involved in completing the first great transcontinental railroad in 1869.[1]

But soon difficulty arose. It started in the mines where American miners objected to foreign competition—European, Mexican, Chilean and especially Chinese, as, of all the groups involved, the Chinese were the most clannish and obviously alien. It should be noted that the agitation of the "Know-nothing" party against all foreigners was widespread at this time, and that the miners, after the generous enthusiasms of the early days of gold had passed, were settling down under the pressure of competition to selfish realities and hard work. Consequently Chinese suffered mob violence in some mining districts, and in 1852 the Legislature imposed a special tax on all aliens engaged in mining of three dollars a month which rose to four dollars in 1853, was made still higher in 1855, but was declared unconstitutional in 1870.

Driven from the mines, the Chinese learned of necessity the art, at which they have been adepts ever since, of filling in the unoccupied areas in the com-

[1] Testimony of Charles Crocker in 1877, U. S. Senate Report No. 689.

munity's economic life, occupations where they would compete as little as possible with the white man. Centuries of social adjustment in an overcrowded country had taught them the value of yielding without a struggle. Laundry work, as suggested above, was a non-competitive occupation and so, in 1870, out of 2,069 laundrymen in San Francisco, 1,333 were Chinese! [1] Cooking and household service also welcomed them and led them naturally into the restaurant business. Their native agricultural background made it easy for them to take up vegetable gardening. The vegetables had to be sold, and so they became peddlers, going about at first with two enormous round-cornered baskets holding several bushels and carried at the ends of a pole balanced over the shoulder. California boys used to wonder at the endurance of the little brown man who could lift these baskets and go off with them on a jog-trot. "John" was popular with the housewife because of his fresh vegetables, his smiles and his system of what is now known as "cheerful credit." A brown memorandum-book hung by the kitchen door where he kept account and collected weekly—if possible! In order to ensure his daily return he was never paid quite in full.

JACK-OF-ALL-TRADES

California has always needed casual laborers to help out in harvest time, especially in wheat fields and fruit

[1] U. S. Census of 1870, Vol. I.

orchards. Here also the Chinese fitted in. Infant industries on the Pacific Coast tried them out and the census of 1870 reveals the fact that, out of 1551 people employed in making boots and shoes in San Francisco, 296 were Chinese; out of 395 employed in woolen mills, 253 were Chinese; while the cigar trade was almost entirely taken over by Chinese who numbered 1657 out of a total of 1811 employed in that industry. It is interesting to note the effect that this quest for a clear occupational field had upon the ten highest vocations followed by the Chinese in 1870, and just fifty years later in 1920, as revealed by the following census figures:

1870		*1920*	
1. Miners	17,609	1. Laundry operatives	11,534
2. Laborers	9,436	2. Cooks	6,943
3. Domestic servants	5,420	3. Waiters	2,766
4. Launderers	3,653	4. Farm laborers	2,305
5. Agricultural laborers	1,766	5. Restaurant keepers	1,688
6. Cigar makers	1,727	6. Salesmen in stores	1,606
7. Gardeners and nurserymen	676	7. Other servants	1,406
8. Traders and dealers	604	8. Grocers	1,267
9. Employees of railroad companies	568	9. Laundry owners and managers	980
10. Boot and shoe makers	489	10. Building trades	939

It is a significant fact that boot and shoe makers

were not even mentioned in the list of fifty occupations in the census of 1920, while only sixty-one cigar makers appear. White labor had regained control of the manufacturing field, except in fish packing and fruit canning, which industries employed 860 and 637 Chinese respectively.

In spite of their effort to find marginal and non-competitive occupations the Chinese inevitably came in contact with the white worker in some fields, and this situation became especially acute in periods of economic depression and social unrest. One such crisis occurred in California in 1870-71, just after the completion of the transcontinental railroad which brought a great increase of white immigration at a time when many Chinese who had been building the railroad were thrown out of work and, moreover, as mentioned above, when Chinese immigration had reached a new high peak of 15,740.

VICTIMS OF MOB LAW

Another and more serious crisis began in 1876, when the effects of "the panic of 1873" really reached the Pacific Coast. The decade from 1876 to 1886 was one of general social unrest in California. The Workingman's Party and the "Knights of Labor" arose, the new constitution of 1879 was adopted, "sand-lot" agitators like Dennis Kearney raised the slogan "The Chinese must go" and the Chinese were subjected to riots, expulsion and even lynching in many places throughout

the West—notably at Rock Springs, Wyoming, where twenty-eight were murdered, at Tacoma and Seattle, Washington, at Log Cabin, Oregon, and elsewhere. Naturally non-resistant, and without any strong government to protest effectively in their behalf, the mild-mannered sons of the Middle Kingdom were helpless before an epidemic of mob violence.

The following account, personally contributed to the writer by an eyewitness of this movement as it struck one of the smaller cities of the Northwest, gives a vivid picture of this era in Pacific Coast Chinese history as seen across the vista of half a century:

> During the year 1886 there was much agitation against the Chinese. The newly organized Knights of Labor sponsored this movement to a large extent and it became the "burning issue." Snohomish caught the contagion, though there were but few Chinese in the village. An anonymous call for a mass meeting was issued and the gathering was held at the Masonic Hall. A prominent citizen presided, but before the close of the meeting he announced himself as against any action. Possibly on account of the stand taken by the chairman, nothing was done. A second meeting was held, addressed by another speaker, and a committee was appointed to inform the Chinese that they must go. This committee refused to act, however, and the matter rested in abeyance for some weeks. At Seattle and other cities, however, the crusade against the Chinese rose to greater heights and early in February the Chinese were quietly told that they were not wanted in Snohomish. With Oriental fatalism they bowed to the inevitable, and, with but a few exceptions, they either sold or removed their goods and eighteen of them took boat down the river on the steamer *Cascade*.

This crisis was undoubtedly brought about by the serious rioting in Seattle to quell which the troops were called out. There remained in Snohomish but three Orientals, who owned a laundry business which they hoped to sell, and had agreed to go on the following Monday. All would have been well had not the excitement of the Seattle troubles so stirred popular feeling that some misguided men placed explosives under the laundry, completely wrecking it. No one was injured and the episode would probably have been passed over lightly had the issue not been so sharply drawn all over the West. Under the circumstances it was made much of and several men were indicted for conspiracy, but, as in the other cases for participation in this Chinese expulsion, they were not convicted. But the majority of the citizens, while opposed to the coolie labor in America, did not approve the unnecessary violence used.

Not all communities were so considerate as Snohomish. In Tacoma a mob took possession of Chinatown. What took place there is thus described by a Chinese author:

They had a number of wagons with them and, as soon as the houses of the Chinese were reached, their goods were thrown into them while their owners were assembled in their neighborhood to be marched out of town. The day was cold and rainy. The Chinamen were greatly excited but none of them offered any resistance. An equal number of children could hardly have been managed more easily. Several of them were old and decrepit; a few were sick, but these were forced out of such shelter as they had and placed on the wagons with their goods. . . . The evicted Celestials, escorted by their tormentors, took up their line of march through the town and out along Centre Street to Lake View where the wagons were unceremoniously unloaded and the owners of such goods as

they contained left on the bleak prairie to make themselves as comfortable as they could until the following day, and it was reported that two of the sick died meantime from exposure.[1]

Here is a document from San Francisco dated May 13, 1876:

Sir: I am instructed by a resolution of the Central Anti-Cooly Club of the Eleventh Ward to notify you that, unless you discharge all the Chinese now in your employ in one week from date hereof, your name will be placed on the blacklist of this club and published in the daily press of this city. All members of the anti-cooly clubs of this city are prohibited from purchasing from or in any manner whatever patronizing any firm or company, factory or persons employing Chinese labor.[2]

The writer of this book as a boy passed through at least the tail of this comet of Chinese persecution. He clearly remembers that in the ethics of boyville it was no crime to steal carrots, turnips or fruit from a Chinese vegetable wagon, while to throw "rocks" (they were really stones) at a Chinese laundry was praiseworthy as well as adventurous.

ECONOMICS AND HIGH VISIBILITY

Now, what caused all this tempest about the Chinese on the Pacific Coast and what came of it at last? Primarily it was an economic reaction. The white laboring man feared the competition of Chinese cheap

[1] Wu, Ching Chao, *Chinatowns.*
[2] U. S. Senate Report, 1877, No. 689.

labor, as he called it, and there is no question that the Chinese living as single men with low standards of comfort and great physical endurance could always underbid the white worker in any field they chose to enter. If given unlimited privileges of immigration, which steamship companies and capitalistic employers were systematically encouraging, Chinese labor certainly was in a position to drive the white working man from the coast. It was, therefore, a genuine and by no means entirely imaginary fear that rallied the working classes behind Dennis Kearney's slogan: "The Chinese must go!" "We are ruined by Chinese cheap labor" ran a line in Bret Harte's familiar poem, "The Heathen Chinee," published in 1870. It was the instinct of economic self-preservation by a working class not at all squeamish as to its methods of securing results and largely led by Irish agitators who used tried and tested mob psychology.

But there was more than economics involved. The Chinese resident in America suffered then, and suffers still to a less degree, from what Professor Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago has called his "high visibility." That is, he was conspicuous not only because of his non-Caucasian physiognomy but, in the early days, by what were accounted outlandish peculiarities of dress, which included the absurd wearing of a long braid of hair down his back, called a queue, loose pajama-like clothes with baggy-seated trousers and, when working in the fields, great flat circular bam-

boo hats—now much prized as work-baskets or wall decorations by American womenfolk. Other nationalities more or less merged into the American scene and blended with the inhabitants. But not the Chinese. He was unmistakably Asiatic and different.

It was only one step more to conclude that he never would and never could be assimilated. He sent his money back to China and kept his wife there, if he had one. He learned "pidgin" English but never could distinguish "l" from "r" or really master idiomatic American speech. Added to this was the pattern of racial barriers established in American life by Negro slavery. The Chinese was not a Negro, but also he was not exactly white; he was supposed to be yellow but was really copper brown. To a large element of the population in California, which had come from parts of the country where Negro slavery had long been common, it was a perfectly natural and inevitable conclusion that people with colored skins, however slight the pigmentation, must always remain an alien and unassimilable element in the population.

Once economic fears and racial barriers had risen into consciousness, other rationalizations were soon forthcoming to justify hostility. It was discovered that the Chinese had certain vices and moral delinquencies such as gambling and opium smoking and, it was rumored, abhorrent sexual sins. They were polygamists and held little girls as slaves. All this was summed up

in Bret Harte's poem by Truthful James, after an unsuccessful attempt to fleece his opponent Ah Sin in a poker game:

> For ways that are dark,
> And for tricks that are vain,
> The heathen Chinee is peculiar.

Any stick will do to beat a dog, and here was a good one.

MORAL PROBLEMS IN CHINESE COMMUNITIES

Let us take a square look at Chinese vice and crime. There is no doubt that the Chinese is not one of the "lily white boys clothed all in green" described in the old ballad "Green Grow the Rushes, O"; but at the same time let us see if his moral character was notably different from that of any community of hard-working single men thousands of miles from home and uprooted from their natural environmental codes and moral sanctions.

The outstanding Chinese vice is gambling. This takes the form of games, such as fan-tan and pie-gow, and also of lotteries, a form of excitement dear to the Chinese heart and not regarded by them at home in China as an evidence of moral turpitude. The moral American attitude towards gambling is that it is dishonest because it involves getting something for nothing, that it breaks down habits of thrift and steady work and therefore results in a disintegration of personal morale;

that it has an insidious habit-forming quality which tends to make those who indulge in it become confirmed gamblers and parasites upon society. Moreover, with the novice, it often leads to increasing ventures which, if successful, bring about the demoralization so apt to come from "easy money" and unearned, irregular, highly variable incomes, or when unsuccessful, results in debt or, worse yet, stealing or embezzlement to cover losses. For these reasons, and the added fact that gambling dens are centers where depraved and criminal elements gather and where other crimes are planned, gambling is regarded as anti-social and contrary to American moral standards.

Now it is a curious fact that these evil results, while not absent among the Chinese, are somewhat mitigated by restraining influences in Chinese character and custom. It seems paradoxical that the most hard-working thrifty race on earth should also be most given to gambling! A psychological explanation would probably lie in the fact that, lacking sports and other forms of release from the tension of hard work and monotony, the Chinese finds in gambling an emotional escape. He gambles primarily for fun and excitement and normally for small stakes.

An interesting combination of literature and gambling is found in the Chinese lottery which is based upon a poem that contains one thousand characters, all different. This poem is akin to the first chapter of Genesis in that it sets forth the ancient Chinese cos-

mology and describes the origin of the earth and the seasons. The lottery ticket consists of the first seventy-five words of this poem printed on a slip of paper. The buyer strikes out the ten words which he thinks will win. On the day of drawing the seventy-five separate words are all put into a box and shaken about. A certain number, say twenty-five, are then drawn out. If the ticket holder has five of these words marked on his ticket he breaks even, if six he wins twice the amount he paid for his ticket, if seven he wins five times his original payment.

One of the complications of Chinese gambling is that it seems to be heavily patronized by other races. Americans, for instance, however much they may denounce the Chinese in other ways, often seem to have a child-like trust in the absolute honesty of the Chinese lotteries, and it is common knowledge that many Chinese conduct the gambling houses so largely patronized by the Filipinos. Professor Walter G. Beach of Stanford University says: "Gambling, as we term it, is for the Oriental a recreation and not primarily a feverish scramble for wealth," and quotes with approval the words of Edmund Mitchell:

> A Chinaman in rare instances loses all when gaming with his own countrymen; but, if this result does happen, he goes next day contentedly back to work and is not, like most ruined gamblers of European stock, permanently incapacitated for honest toil.[1]

[1] Walter G. Beach, *Oriental Crime in California.*

THE CURSE OF OPIUM

Another typically Chinese vice is opium smoking. Opium formerly could be imported into the United States by paying a duty of $6.00 a pound, but since 1909 its importation has been forbidden. Of course there has been smuggling, but the determined action against it—local, national and now international through the League of Nations—has resulted in greatly reducing the amount of opium-smoking and driving what remains of it into hiding. Here, again, the harm seems to have been even greater to other races who patronized the Chinese opium dens than to the Chinese themselves, who apparently possess or have acquired some degree of immunity to opium's worst effects. Professor Beach of Stanford, says:

> Undoubtedly the opium habit is health wrecking, as is any narcotic habit. The effects of narcotics are doubly pernicious, first in the creation of an unnatural craving, then in the devastating after-effects, causing a vicious circle, leading generally to the ruin or death of the victim.[1]

TO THE RESCUE!

All of these vices are characteristic by-products of abnormal communities in which men far outnumber women. They are evil but pathetic efforts to provide a substitute for normal home life. This is likewise true

[1] Walter G. Beach, *Oriental Crime in California.*

of prostitution and the trade in slave-girls which grows out of it. Among the typical white American stock there are 102.3 men for every 100 women—practically an even balance—according to the census of 1930. Among our Chinese population, however, there were 394.7 men for every 100 women, and even this proportion is much better balanced than it used to be, for in 1890 there were 2,678.9 Chinese males for every 100 females.[1] This is the sort of situation in which prostitution flourishes, and it is common knowledge that slave-girls, who brought $1000 before the exclusion law of 1882, ranged in price from $2000 to $3000 thereafter.

A sidelight on the extent and horror of this evil is revealed by the fact that more than two thousand girls have found refuge in the Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home in San Francisco since it was founded in the early seventies.[2] The work of Miss Donaldina Cameron in this connection will be referred to in another place, but those who wish a more complete picture may well read *The Ways of Ah Sin*, by C. R. Shepherd, a Baptist missionary in California, and *Chinatown Quest*, the life adventures of Donaldina Cameron, by Carol Green Wilson. Dr. Shepherd told the writer in 1933 that in 1923 and 1924 he rescued twenty slave-girls valued at a total of $110,000, but that conditions were now much better due to the work of Miss Cam-

[1] U. S. Census of 1930. Population Bulletin, Second Series.

[2] C. R. Shepherd, "Chinese Girl Slavery in America," in *Missionary Review of the World*. Vol. 46.

eron and the efficient cooperation of Inspector Manion of the San Francisco police.

SOBER FACTS

As a matter of fact, when a calm, dispassionate study employing scientific methods of sociological research is made, such as one finds in *Oriental Crime in California*, by Walter G. Beach, Professor of Social Science in Stanford University, the actual criminal record of the Chinese is remarkably low, and that of the Japanese lower still. Some interesting facts come out in this study. For instance, the proportion of serious to minor crimes, that is, of felonies to misdemeanors, is remarkably low. "During the entire period studied (1900 to 1927) there were a total of 71,626 Chinese arrests, of which only 1,026 were for crimes punishable by death or imprisonment in state prison." This is only 1.44 per cent of the total volume of Chinese crime. "During this period the total of all commitments to San Quentin penitentiary was 55,509 of which 978 were Chinese, or 1.8 per cent." In other words, the Chinese commitments for serious crimes against the person and against property were only slightly above their proportion of the population; which was 1.5 per cent; indeed, if an equalization were made on the basis of the proportion of males in the population, the Chinese win out. In 1910 the Chinese males were 33,003 out of a total male population of 1,322,978 or almost exactly 2.5 per cent. In other words, with 2.5 per cent of the male

population, the Chinese provided only 1.8 per cent of the prison population of the state.

The great proportion (94 per cent) of Chinese offenses, when carefully analyzed by Professor Beach, prove to be what are classified as "offenses against public policy and morals." Thus 44 per cent of them grow out of Chinese lotteries, 22 per cent out of other forms of gambling, 11 per cent out of opium smoking, 5 per cent out of vagrancy (which covers almost anything) and 4.75 per cent out of violating miscellaneous city ordinances. It is noteworthy that only one per cent is for violating traffic laws and only one-third of one per cent for drunkenness!

Commenting on this, Professor Romanzo Adams says:

> Many of these crimes are not considered as crimes in China nor are they antagonistic to Chinese public sentiment. The defects of their conduct, then, do not have quite the same meaning that they would have had if they had been violating their own standards. They meant less in the way of fundamental social attitude and did not serve well as basis of a forecast as to the behavior of their children living a more nearly normal social life as American citizens.

TONGS—GOOD AND BAD

But, someone says, "What about these awful tongs and the tong wars?" Undoubtedly the criminal tong is a reality, and a sinister one. It is the Chinese equivalent to the "gang" in American life, grows out of similar conditions and operates along much the same lines.

The criminal tong, like the gang, is an organization of men who want to do something forbidden by the law which they can do more safely and profitably through the cooperation and protection of a group than through individual criminal action. They are particularly likely to grow up and operate more easily where public opinion is not unanimous about the thing forbidden by law.

For example, the sinister and powerful gangs of Chicago and other cities have grown up because an illicit trade in liquor, gambling and prostitution could be more profitably and safely carried on under the protection of an organized group of hoodlums who can intimidate the public, corrupt or defy the police and even debauch the courts. The fact that certain sections of the public in our large cities disapprove of prohibition, see no harm in gambling and even regard prostitution as a necessary evil, is what gives to such gangs a relatively congenial environment, and at the same time relaxes or weakens the power of law-enforcement agencies.

This is precisely what happens in large Chinese communities. Lotteries, gambling, opium and prostitution are forbidden by law, but such laws have only limited and varying degrees of support from Oriental public opinion. Secure in a sense of local approval, or at least not checked by any effective social disapproval, gangs of Chinese set out to beat these laws because there is profit in so doing and greater safety and success possible through organization. With the Chinese criminal

tongs there is also another activity not yet taken up by the American gang, and that is the violation of the immigration laws by smuggling into the United States Chinese ineligible for entrance.

Nobody knows just how many of these criminal tongs there are, but an article by Edward A. Murphy in the *San Francisco Bulletin* for March 15, 1921, listed nine. Some of them, at least, are nation-wide in their scope and operate in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Newark, Cleveland and elsewhere, and engaged in a bloody tong war as late as 1927.[1]

It should be noted that the tong in itself is not necessarily criminal. Most tongs are entirely legitimate—family, social, or business clubs which perform useful functions. They act as private courts to settle disputes, they serve in lieu of insurance or mutual benefit associations, maintain schools and provide for friendly social intercourse just as American clubs do. A visit to the palatial home of the On Leong Tong in Chicago, for instance, reveals a court and committee rooms, a shrine, and a school for a hundred and fifty children! It is really a powerful merchants' club trying to serve the interests of the Chinese community. Near by is the building of the Moye family—the leading clan in Chinese Chicago. Its upper floor is devoted to a spacious room in which the most conspicuous object is a beautiful shrine to the ancestors. Here family councils are held. The strength of Chinese social solidarity lies in

[1] *Chicago Tribune*, March 25, 1927.

these tongs or clubs which do a vast amount of good but, if they get into the hands of criminals, may also be used for evil.

The unfavorable aspects of Chinese life have been presented here, simply in order to explain the widespread sentiment on the Pacific Coast in favor of Chinese exclusion. This sentiment was aroused primarily by the economic fear of competition from efficient labor with a lower standard of living, accentuated by conspicuous physical and racial characteristics which seemed to forbid intermarriage and make assimilation difficult; and the whole situation was further complicated by an almost morbid revulsion against certain alien types of vice and crime which were undoubtedly greatly exaggerated in popular opinion.

The movement for exclusion first found expression through restrictive state laws but, when these proved ineffective or were declared unconstitutional, the issue became a federal one. The Burlingame treaty of 1868 between China and the United States decreed to both countries "the mutual advantage of free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively, from one country to the other for the purpose of curiosity or trade or as permanent residents." But agitation on the Pacific Coast resulted in a congressional committee of investigation, in 1876, which recommended restriction of Asiatic immigration, and in 1880 a new treaty was negotiated with China by which the United States received power to regulate, limit or suspend the

coming into this country of Chinese laborers, but not absolutely to exclude them.

EXCLUSION LAWS

In 1882 was passed the so-called Chinese Exclusion Law which suspended the coming of all Chinese laborers for a period of ten years, but no one believed that the gates would ever be opened to them again. It was generally realized that "suspension" really meant permanent exclusion. The law was renewed in 1894, and finally in 1904 Congress enacted that "all laws regulating, suspending, or prohibiting the coming of Chinese persons . . . are hereby enacted, extended and continued without modification, limitation or condition." Finally, the Immigration Law of 1924, which provided no quotas for races ineligible to naturalization (and the only eligible races are the white and the black), not only closed the door but slammed it, for this was done in violation of our treaty with China whereby we had agreed only to regulate, limit or suspend such immigration. Not only has this arbitrary action by Congress, regardless of treaty rights and diplomatic procedure, created wide resentment on the part of the Chinese both at home and in this country, but there has been bitter criticism also of the way in which the law has been administered.

It must be clearly recognized that the administration of an exclusion law is, at best, an ungracious task, and is made all the more exasperating by the clever and

unscrupulous efforts to evade it. Meanwhile it is a pleasure to be able to report a great improvement in recent years in the physical condition of immigration stations where applicants for admission sometimes have to be detained for months. On the other hand, grave errors in tact and judgment have been made from time to time which have created great bitterness among the Chinese. Here is a letter from a high-grade young man, born in Hawaii of Chinese parents, but an American citizen by birthright. He graduated from the University of Hawaii and came on to the Chicago Theological Seminary for graduate study. In August, 1931, he attended a Y.M.C.A. conference in Toronto, Canada. This is his description of the way he was treated at the border, as printed in the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* of August 26, 1931:

I was detained at Windsor, Canada, for eight hours, just on account of my being of Chinese descent. The fault was of the [Canadian] official. He was dumb, and he didn't follow instructions to allow delegates to the Conference to go through. Anyway I was impressed with the fact that I am a Chinese. My American citizenship didn't mean a thing. It was just a scrap of paper. If a Negro says he is an American, and has no paper to show, he will be allowed to go through, no matter how ignorant he is, but if I am a Chinese with all my papers to prove that I am an American citizen, I am still taken off the train.

The situation that burned me up the most was the treatment I received from the American officials at Niagara Falls. I was impressed more there that I am a Chinaman. I, an American citizen, was not allowed to visit the Falls because

I was of Chinese descent! That takes the cake for insult and discrimination. I was too mad to do anything. I could have torn up my citizenship papers right then and there. If my government is not going to protect my rights and treat me as any other citizen, I would rather be a Chinaman and be treated like hell than be hypocritical about it.

Yes, that is the thing I got out of the Conference at Toronto. We talk a lot about internationalism, but if these realities of discrimination are going to exist, all the conferences in the world, all the talk will not make me internationally minded.

First thing they ought to do is to clean house and do away with this discrimination. Treat us all alike and don't pick on nations that are weak.

American citizen of Chinese ancestry! What does it mean? Well, I am going to find out.

GOOD PURPOSES—BAD METHODS

There can be no doubt that some sort of adequate protection to save the Pacific Coast from an inundation of Asiatic labor was necessary. Unrestricted immigration would have been a kindness to no one—not even to the Chinese. It would only have produced a racial problem on the coast, and ultimately farther east, still more difficult than the one we are struggling with today. Moreover, as has been suggested before, exclusion did gradually allay the fears of the white population and so make possible the saner, fairer and more appreciative attitude towards the Chinese which is growing up today.

But what a pity that it had to be done in such a

crude and bungling manner! What a shame that sound diplomatic procedures were so ruthlessly disregarded! Would we have thus dealt with England or Germany? May we not live to regret our past when China becomes a strong nation and we are reminded of our record in playing fast and loose with treaty obligations? It could have been done so much better. With patient, diplomatic approaches the cooperation of the Chinese government might have been secured, the legislation might have been so framed as to consider and respect the sensibilities of the Chinese people, and its administration might have been carried out with courtesy, humanity and generosity. But none of these things was done. As so often happens in history, a necessary result was achieved in the crudest possible way because of inflamed passions and impatient, ruthless prejudice.

But, while all this anti-Chinese agitation was going on, other quiet but constructive forces were at work which, across the years, have revealed the nobler qualities of the Chinese, and have gone far towards extending a higher opinion of them on the Pacific Coast. Christian missionary work among them, once looked upon with derision and disapproval, need not apologize for the results it has accomplished. Independent and self-supporting churches, like the First Chinese Congregational Church in San Francisco which recently celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, and hundreds of outstanding Christian personalities, attest the value of the work which was begun by missionary enthusiasts of the

seventies and eighties. As an illustration of this nobler side of things let us close this chapter with the following life story.

A LIFE STORY AND ITS SEQUEL

For many years one of the most influential Chinese on the Pacific Coast was Dr. Ng Poon Chew, editor of the Chinese daily newspaper in San Francisco. He was brought to California at the age of eight by an uncle who lived in San José. One day a Mrs. Mary Carey, whom he ever after regarded as his guardian angel, rescued him from some white boys who were teasing him, and he became the nucleus of a little school of Chinese boys. Recognizing his ability, Mrs. Carey sent him to the Occidental School in San Francisco. Later he attended the San Francisco Theological Seminary in San Anselmo. He was the first Chinese on the Pacific Coast to be ordained as a Presbyterian minister.

After his ordination he married a Christian Chinese girl and went to Los Angeles as pastor of the Chinese Presbyterian Church. While there, he built a Christian Chinese day school. Finding it hard to support his growing family on his salary, he decided to combine newspaper work with his religious activities and started a weekly paper. He set the type himself and was, as he expressed it, "editor, compositor and printer's devil, all in one." Returning to San Francisco, he entered upon the major work of his life as founder and editor of *Chung Sai Yat Po*, the *China and Western Daily*

News. He was equally effective as either writer or lecturer and, because of his whimsical humor, was affectionately called "the Chinese Mark Twain." Every year he took his children on a pilgrimage to San José to see Mrs. Carey, "a quaint little old lady now with curls down each side of her face, a charter member of the First Presbyterian Church of that city."

But the story of Dr. Ng Poon Chew does not end with his personal career, it lives on in his children. There is one son, Eddie Chew. In order to find a better environment, Ng Poon Chew moved his household out of Chinatown and settled in Oakland. Eddie went to Oakland High School, where he was very popular, and played on the Plymouth Center basketball team. After high school he found difficulty in securing a position, but finally was employed in the drafting room of a large public service company. Within three days he was completely accepted by the other members of the staff and was going out to lunch with them. He is now head of a department with twenty white employees.

There are four daughters. Nancy, the eldest, went into her father's newspaper office as his English secretary. Effie was trained as a kindergartner and became the first Chinese girl to be given a public school position. The two younger girls, Rose and Caroline, took college degrees and both are now secretaries of the Chinese Y.W.C.A. in San Francisco.

II

WHAT ABOUT THE JAPANESE?

THE experience of the Pacific Coast with the Chinese established the pattern for popular mind-sets and reactions concerning the Japanese, who began coming to the United States much later and seemed at first to fill in whatever vacant places had been left by the ebbing tide of Chinese. Only after 1900, when the Chinese population was visibly decreasing, as shown by the table on page 11, did the Japanese numbers become very considerable. Then the same reaction began, but with some notable and interesting differences.

THE JAPANESE FAMILY

The Japanese, like the Chinese, and most other immigrants for that matter, came at first as groups of single men and made a very mobile labor force that easily moved about wherever it was needed. But, unlike the Chinese, the Japanese soon began to bring wives and families with them and to set up normal homes, with the result that, whereas the Census of 1930 reports 394.7 men for every 100 women among the Chinese, it shows only 143.3 men for every 100 women among the Japanese. This ratio is still higher than that

of 115 among the foreign-born white population, and is decidedly higher than the normal ratio of 102.3 men to every 100 women which obtains among native whites of native parentage; but it indicates that the Japanese went in for family life far more than the relatively celibate Chinese.

But this very characteristic of the Japanese, which might at first glance seem perfectly normal and praiseworthy, and was indeed a safeguard for moral character and good behavior, had the effect of arousing new fears and suspicions. The Japanese birth-rate is normally high, and the Japanese women who came to the United States were practically all of child-bearing age. Statistics as to the Japanese birth-rate in the United States, therefore, soon appeared genuinely alarming. Here was an Oriental invasion from within which might overwhelm the white supremacy of the Pacific Coast, for these California-born Japanese children were citizens by birthright, regardless of the fact that their parents could not be naturalized. Some extremists even saw in this a subtle plot of the Japanese government to colonize and ultimately capture the Pacific Coast.

Added color was given to these fears by a misunderstanding of the Japanese marriage system. In Japan, and the Orient generally, marriage is ordinarily not a matter decided upon by the two individuals most concerned, but is arranged by their elders and is a family matter. The young man or woman dutifully accepts the mate chosen and provided by the family. Hence,

if a Japanese in America desired to marry, it was hardly necessary for him to take the long and expensive journey to Japan and conduct a courtship. All that could just as well be arranged by the two families concerned —as it would be anyway—and his bride could make the journey and meet him in America. But this system of what were called "picture brides" seemed positively uncanny to popular American opinion, and appeared in the lurid light of a sinister plot on the part of the scheming Orientals to flood the Pacific Coast with Japanese babies.

CHINESE AND JAPANESE CONTRASTS

Other differences, based on the Chinese precedent, are also interesting. The Chinese had been criticized because they continued to wear queues, Chinese shoes and clothing. The Japanese, however, both men and women, everywhere appeared in American shoes, hats and apparel—except in Hawaii where the women retained the modest, graceful kimono and the gorgeous sash or *obi* of their homeland. To be sure, the American clothes were not always worn to the best effect, especially by the women, who continued to toe in and walk as if their feet were still shod with Japanese sandals; but, on the whole, the Japanese were neatly and, sometimes, even smartly dressed in American clothes.

Whereas the Chinese had been accused by popular tradition of being somewhat lacking in cleanliness, in spite of their signal success in the laundry business,

everybody admitted from the start that the Japanese were very clean as to their persons, though not always knowing how to manage American houses where everyone walked in with his dirty shoes on—a thing unheard of in Japan. As one woman in Honolulu remarked: "You can't keep Japanese servants unless you give them enough hot water to parboil themselves in every day!"

There was another striking contrast in the appearance of their places of business and their delivery wagons. Whereas the Chinese laundry had been content with an unpainted shack and an aged and utterly discouraged crow-bait of a horse who pulled an old wreck of a wagon patched up with bailing wire and bearing a home-made sign "Wau Shon, Chinese laundry," the Japanese laundry blossomed out with plate-glass windows, a gold-lettered sign and a Ford delivery truck proclaiming on its sides: "Fujiyama Hand Laundry. Cleaning and Pressing a Specialty!" All this, however, instead of allaying prejudice, seemed only to make the Japanese competitor appear more astute, and therefore more subtly dangerous.

Popular rumor also soon spread it about that the Japanese were tricky and unreliable. That ancient legend, to the effect that the Japanese are such a dishonest race that they cannot even trust one another but must employ honest Chinese tellers in their banks, was bandied about and made to do valiant service. Of course, the basis of this story lies in the fact that the

Chinese have been for ages the bankers and money changers of the Orient and, when the Japanese suddenly came out of their long seclusion and had to develop commercial methods and institutions almost over night, they naturally did, at first, employ Chinese tellers to deal with foreign money, for no one else knew the shifting values of the many currencies of the Asiatic world.

It is also probably true that commercial procedures had been more highly developed among the Chinese through their merchant guilds, and the idea of a contract was better understood and more strictly adhered to, than among the Japanese, who had only recently emerged from feudalism and to whom personal relations of mutual respect, honor and good-will were more important than abstract contractual relationships. At any rate, popular opinion on the Pacific Coast has it that "the honest Chinaman" is more likely to keep his contracts than the Japanese.

On the other hand, those who know the Japanese intimately are equally sure that if one's relationship with a Japanese is based on personal trust and friendship it will rarely be betrayed, and it is certain that no race has a higher sense of personal dignity or is more grateful, and expressive of gratitude for favors done than the Japanese. People who deal with the Chinese and Japanese in school or business, and who are objective and impartial in their judgments, seldom discrim-

inate unfavorably between them. A banker in a prosperous little city in the Northwest said to the writer:

> Yes, we find the Japanese ranchers and business men relatively honest. In fact, we have had fewer losses from Japanese than from whites, due to the strong local Japanese leadership. The Japanese are jealous of their reputation and rally round a weak brother and straighten him out. Sometimes a bank examiner from California, with more or less of an anti-Japanese complex, looks unfavorably at our Japanese paper, but we know our local Japanese and trust them.

As a wise woman, with much experience with both races, once said to the writer, "There is no such thing as a racial monopoly on either honesty or dishonesty, and human nature is remarkably alike on this score in every land."

AGRICULTURAL TRADITIONS

The Japanese who came to the United States had been farmers in their own country and, while some of them found employment here as domestic servants and some in railroad construction, the majority turned to agriculture, first as migratory groups of seasonal workers and later, when family life developed, as renters and owners of farmland. They were used to intensive farming for, in the parts of Japan from which they came, the average holding was a little less than three acres;[1] moreover, the place where they fitted in best

[1] Yoshaburo Yoshida, "Sources and Causes of Japanese Emigration," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 34, p. 165.

in the agricultural life of the Pacific Coast was in vegetable gardening, floriculture, the raising of strawberries and asparagus and in the cultivation of sugar beets. Being small and lithe, they were well adapted to the stooping-over occupations in agriculture. Ultimately they followed the sugar-beet industry to Utah, Idaho, Colorado and even to Nebraska.

But, while the Japanese were efficient farmers, trouble arose for this very reason. Many of their gardens and berry patches were close to American cities such as Seattle, Tacoma, Sacramento, Fresno and Los Angeles. The Japanese also had, like the Chinese, what Professor Park calls a "high visibility." Their children appeared in schools alongside of American children. A public, already conditioned in its thought against all Orientals, began to see a menace to white ownership of land and white community life in the presence of these efficient Japanese farmers with their large families. If they had been Swedes or Italians, they and their children would not have been so conspicuous, but their obviously Oriental appearance in a community that had only just succeeded in excluding the Chinese aroused against them the same kind of fears and prejudices which had brought about Chinese exclusion.

The first and natural reaction was, therefore, an exclusion movement and a Japanese-Korean Exclusion League organized for that purpose. In the early days a few Koreans had also come to California, but the number has been negligible.

THE "GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT"

Exclusion, however, could not be secured with quite the ruthless directness that had been used in the case of the Chinese. The Japanese had a proud and powerful government behind them and the diplomatic amenities had to be observed. When, therefore, the San Francisco Board of Education attempted in 1906 to segregate Japanese children in Oriental schools and this action was protested by Japan, the federal government had to take a hand.

The result was the prohibition of Japanese immigration from Hawaii, Canada and Mexico and the establishment under Theodore Roosevelt of the famous "Gentlemen's Agreement," between the American State Department and the Japanese government, whereby Japan voluntarily agreed to refuse passports to laborers going to continental United States, and likewise to exercise strict control over those going to adjacent territory like Canada and Mexico. While not included in the original agreement, the Japanese government after 1920, because of the outcry against "picture brides," refused passports to them also. The only Japanese who could obtain passports under the "Gentlemen's Agreement," were officials, tourists, business and professional men, students and Japanese already here, together with their wives, dependent parents or children under twenty years of age.

One mistake made at the time this agreement was

adopted was that, while a brief summary was given out, it was not completely made public. Its exact terms did not become known until revealed in a letter to Secretary Hughes by Ambassador Hanihara on April 10, 1924.[1] Another weakness was that this agreement was not embodied in a treaty, was never presented to the Senate as a treaty should be, and, therefore, lacked the international, legal status of one. It was merely an informal arrangement negotiated by only one department of our government.

By the Japanese, however, it was regarded as a definite international understanding and its ruthless abrogation by the Immigration Bill of 1924, without preliminary diplomatic negotiation for its revision, was something very hard for Japanese to understand. The writer was in Japan in the fall of 1924 and had no easy time explaining to Japanese groups that the "Gentlemen's Agreement," while negotiated with the State Department, was not a treaty, and the fact that it had never been presented to the Senate naturally made that body very hostile to it.

However, the "Gentlemen's Agreement" did measurably settle the problem of the continued immigration of Japanese labor and could have been made into a satisfactory treaty preserving the well-being and self-respect of both countries. But the proponents of the Immigration Bill of 1924 were not content to let well enough alone. They argued that the control of immi-

[1] Lawrence Guy Brown, *Immigration.*

gration was a domestic matter to be handled by direct legislative action, and should not be made dependent on the cooperation of any foreign power.

This was logical enough, but not very practical or canny, for Chinese exclusion by legislative fiat was proving hard to enforce, whereas the exclusion of Japanese laborers, through the cooperation of the Japanese government which exercises careful control over its citizens, almost enforced itself and involved very few problems for the immigration authorities. President Coolidge pleaded for time to negotiate a treaty with Japan, urged that any action taken should be in line with diplomatic courtesy and calculated to retain the valuable cooperation of Japan.

But Congress was in a hurry and, with what seemed to cooler heads a most regrettable disregard of treaty rights and Japanese feelings, passed the immigration law denying admission on even a quota basis to all races ineligible to citizenship, and permitting only the entrance of officials, tourists, students, ministers, seamen while their ships are in port, merchants in international trade, legally resident Japanese returning from visits to Japan, and a few other minor classifications.[1]

ANTI-ALIEN LAND LAWS

The "Gentlemen's Agreement" resulted in a marked decrease in immigration from Japan: it fell at once successively from 7,250 in 1908 (to continental United

[1] Y. Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States.*

States) to 1,593 in 1909 and 1,552 in 1910. Nevertheless, the people of the Pacific Coast felt that the Japanese population was increasing, and in fact it was, for under that agreement large and increasing numbers of women continued to come until, to quiet the "picture bride" agitation, Japan agreed in 1920 to refuse passports to them. Anti-Japanese agitation continued, however, and now took the form of anti-alien land laws which were passed in California in 1913 and with greater severity in 1920 and 1923. Similar laws were passed in 1921 by Washington, Nebraska and Texas, and in 1923 by Oregon and Idaho. Arizona had already led the way in 1912.

Now the anti-alien land laws were not directed against all aliens. Without mentioning the Japanese by name, they cleverly employed the naturalization regulations of the United States to effect a discrimination without seeming to discriminate. The statutes of the United States since 1790, before the Chinese or Japanese had appeared upon America's consciousness or the world horizon, had provided for the naturalization of "free white persons." After the Civil War this had been liberalized to include "aliens of African nativity" and "persons of African descent." By this curious quirk in our statutes a Negro from Africa or indeed from China can be naturalized, but no Chinese or Japanese, no Indian born in Canada, no Polynesian! You must be either white or black! The land laws aimed at the Japanese took advantage of this peculiarity and decreed that

"aliens ineligible to citzenship" should not own land nor lease it for more than two years, and there were other like restrictions.

IMMIGRATION DECLINES

These laws, as Professor H. A. Millis has said, were "unjust, impolitic and unnecessary." [1] They discriminated against Japanese in the United States, whereas Americans in Japan received the same privileges as all other nationalities without discrimination. To be sure, Americans are not allowed fee-simple ownership of land in Japan, but neither are any other foreigners. All are treated alike. What the Japanese object to is that the anti-alien land laws of the various states do not apply equally to all aliens, but are cleverly drawn so as to discriminate against Japanese and, of course, other Orientals. Think how we should feel if the Japanese passed laws permitting all foreigners to own land except those from North and South America, for example. Moreover, with immigration restricted, the laws were not necessary and, while they added little to the white man's protection, they contributed a great irritation to international relationships and worked considerable hardship on immigrants who, as lawful residents of the country, were entitled to equal opportunities and fair play. It ought to be perfectly obvious that, when a person is once lawfully in this free and democratic country of ours, sound policy and the ordinary princi-

[1] H. A. Millis, *The Japanese Problem in the United States.*

ples of humanity alike require that he should be accorded free and equal treatment before the law, and that the doors of opportunity should stand open to him on equal terms with all other aliens, if he is an alien, or with all other citizens, if he is a citizen. To adopt a less just and equal procedure is to sow the seeds of resentment and bitterness, and is clearly against public policy and the American ideal.

The underlying injustice and social mistake in this whole matter is our denial of naturalization to all races on equal terms. This denial is not only in itself a poor public policy: it is used as an excuse for still more far-reaching injustices and discriminations that set up unwise barriers and impair the unity of our country. Moreover, by seeming to imply some inferiority on the part of races ineligible to naturalization, this discrimination humiliates and antagonizes nations whose friendship and cooperation we need and desire. The creation of a legal status of inferiority for Chinese and Japanese by the naturalization laws and land laws involves a danger of social discrimination, and erects a social code based on the assumption of racial inferiority; and this danger is the greater in America because of the already established system of race relations with regard to Negroes.

DUAL CITIZENSHIP

As in the case of the Chinese, in addition to the basic causes of economic fear and racial difference,

other minor objections were raised against the Japanese. One of these was the matter of dual citizenship. According to the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, "all persons born . . . in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside." But not all nations operate on this basis. France, Italy, Germany, Russia, Japan and several other countries regard as citizens the children of their citizens wherever born. These confusing laws, covering marriage as well, continually cause international complications. So the criticism arose that young Japanese born in this country, and therefore citizens, were at the same time subjects of the Mikado and liable to military service. The question was, to which citizenship should they be loyal?

It is very revealing as to the conciliatory attitude of the Japanese government to note how this problem was solved. On December 1, 1924, at the very time when resentment in Japan at the discriminatory nature of the new United States immigration law was at its height, the Japanese Diet, with remarkable wisdom and far-sighted courtesy, amended its Law of Nationality so that now

> a child born of Japanese parents in the United States, Canada and certain South American countries (having similar birth-right citizenship) is not claimed as a subject by the Japanese government unless it declares, within fourteen days after birth, through its legal representative, its intention of

retaining Japanese nationality. Moreover, even if such a declaration of intention to retain Japanese nationality has been filed, the person may abandon it at any time by making simple notification. Furthermore, the law is retroactive, providing that even those who were born prior to the adoption of the law, and who, consequently, possess dual citizenship, may at any time cancel their Japanese citizenship by a mere notification.[1]

THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS

Another ground for criticism of the Japanese was their organization of language schools, conducted after the regular public school hours, for the purpose of teaching their children how to read and write the Japanese language and also something of Japanese etiquette and behavior. Similar schools have been conducted by the Chinese; and also by the Germans and many other nationalities in the form of parochial schools. The Japanese schools were merely supplementary to the public schools and not a substitution for them as are parochial schools. The teachers in these schools must be graduates of what are called middle schools in Japan, and some of them are also graduates of American colleges. Japanese Christian pastors and Buddhist priests and other educated men also served.

The Japanese language is easy to pronounce, not over difficult to speak, but very difficult for foreigners to learn to write. And, as Professor Ichihashi of Stanford University wittily remarks: "American-born Japa-

[1] Y. Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States.*

nese are foreigners." Nevertheless, if these young people were not to lose all contact with their ancestral culture and even with their own grandparents and other relatives in Japan, it was necessary that they should learn to read and write Japanese.

So, while American boys and girls were playing games and enjoying themselves after school, the little Japanese were back in school studying the Japanese syllabary and Chinese characters and learning the language of their ancestors. Primary children in Japan are supposed to acquire from fifteen hundred to two thousand of these characters, but to gain an effective mastery of the language one must know from five to six thousand! Just try to commit a few Chinese characters to memory when next you see a Chinese or Japanese book or store sign and the task of the Japanese language schools will become apparent. Japanese, of course, while a completely different language from Chinese, uses the Chinese characters. It is somewhat as if we wrote English using Latin words but pronouncing them according to their equivalent meaning in English: *veritas,* for example, would be written *veritas* but pronounced "truth." So Chinese and Japanese can understand one another's signs though they pronounce them absolutely differently.

It is easy to see how the war psychology, which had resulted in forbidding by law the teaching of German in some states and which frowned upon all foreign languages, would react upon these language schools of

the Japanese. They were accused of de-Americanizing the children, teaching them to bow to the picture of the Mikado, using text-books prepared for use in Japan, and so inculcating Japanese loyalty. In Hawaii the Legislature was at the point of passing a law arbitrarily wiping out all language schools, when wiser counsels prevailed and a measure proposed by a group of Japanese themselves was substituted, whereby the language schools were brought under the supervision of the department of public instruction, the text-books were to be revised and the teachers trained and examined in a knowledge of democratic ideals and American citizenship. Ultimately, however, for technical reasons with which we are not here concerned, the courts threw out even this law.

But, meanwhile, the hysteria had subsided, as well it might, for, in spite of Japanese intellectuality and the valid reasons for the language schools, theirs is inevitably a waning influence and a losing cause—unless artificially stimulated by having a crown of martyrdom forced upon them. As Professor Ichihashi, speaking of Pacific Coast Japanese children, says:

> The mother tongue of these children is English which they use every moment of their life in work and play except when they are in the classrooms of the language schools and when they are absolutely forced to use Japanese at home. . . . They are conscious of their mastery of English, and of their defective knowledge of Japanese; they are intelligent enough to use the language they know, and have vanity enough to conceal what they are ignorant of, and thus will not use the

language of which they have only a defective knowledge. . . . The relative failure of the Japanese language schools in this country to impart a knowledge of that tongue seems but natural.

It is interesting to note, however, that, while ordinarily these schools would tend to be unpopular with children and gradually to disappear, their continued life and vitality are largely due to that uncertainty of status produced by racial discrimination and the denial of economic opportunity to the young American-born Japanese. These young people discover that they are most likely to find employment in situations where their knowledge of Japanese is an asset, or they and their parents wonder if, denied economic opportunity in America, it may not be necessary ultimately for them to return to Japan, in which case they would need to know the Japanese language.

Hence the prejudices and economic barriers set up by the American community itself keep the language schools alive and popular! Dr. Katsuki, a well known Japanese physician in Honolulu, once picked up a little Japanese boy and gave him a ride in his auto. "Which school do you like the better, Japanese or American?" With true Oriental diplomacy the little lad replied that he liked them both, but finally, getting better acquainted, admitted a preference for the American. "But why?" "Oh, the teacher! She is a lady and very kind and the Japanese teacher is a man and often cross!"

Surely the American school teacher, if given an equal chance, need fear no competition.

JAPANESE INDUSTRIOUSNESS

Whatever other complaints may have been made about the Japanese, no one, not even their severest critics, has ever accused them of being lazy, criminal or unintelligent.

Their industry is proverbial and, indeed, part of the feeling against them has grown out of their willingness to toil, men, women and children, for long hours in all sorts of weather in the open field. The American farmer and his women-folk, with their standards of leisure and comfort, realized at once the impossibility of competing with this exacting industry. Of course, as the Japanese got ahead and could afford to do so, he also moderated his habits of excessive toil. If he owned land, he built a little bungalow, gave his children music lessons and planned to send them to college.

The writer has in his possession two very interesting and contrasting snap-shots which he took in the summer of 1933. One is of a rough shack inhabited by a Japanese family at one end and used as a barn at the other, with a vegetable storage and packing room between. It was the home of a Japanese family on a rented farm. The second picture shows an attractive modern bungalow, which had a well kept garden and a gold-fish pond, and, behind it, a large well-painted

fruit-packing house. The two pictures represent two stages of Japanese development. The first is where they began and the second is where they wish to go. But there is another difference. In the second case the Japanese farmer owned his land, acquired before the alien land law, and could, therefore, build the home he wished, while, in the first picture, he was condemned by the alien land law to be only a transitory renter and to live in such a hovel as might be provided.

AN EXEMPLARY RECORD

As to criminality, the study by Professor Walter G. Beach referred to in the previous chapter is conclusive on that point. An analysis of the statistics he has assembled shows that during the period from 1900 to 1927 there were 2,037,794 arrests for all causes in California. Of these 3.5 per cent were Chinese and only nine-tenths of one per cent were Japanese. In other words, while the Japanese represented 1.7 per cent of the total population in 1910 (about the middle of this period) they were responsible for only nine-tenths of one per cent of the arrests; thus their criminal record was only about half as high as the average in the state.

Out of all these arrests, 65,919 cases were committed to state's prison for serious offences (felonies). This is 3.2 per cent of the total. But only 2.2 per cent of the Japanese arrested were so committed, showing that what crimes they did commit were not as serious as the average for the state. While furnishing 1.7 per cent of

the population of the state they had only seven-tenths per cent of the population of San Quentin penitentiary; and, whereas their total population grew 600 per cent from 1900 to 1927, their prison population increased only 33.6 per cent! Could anything more conclusively demonstrate their moral standards and law-abiding character? The only other possible explanation would be that they were the pets of the police and had a special stand-in with the courts, whereas, of course, it is just the other way!

A story current in Seattle fits in at this point. When the Wickersham Report on crime and criminality was prepared, considerable use was made of maps indicating the areas of greatest social disintegration in cities by spotting the location of crimes, criminals and delinquents. This showed the fairly regular pattern familiar to sociologists of a region of moral delinquency in the area of general social disorganization which is normally a circle or semicircle just outside the central business district. But, on the Seattle map, it was noticed that the semi-circle was not complete. At one point the black dots grew thin where, by all the normal expectations, they should have been thick. When the special investigator checked up on this surprising situation he found the reason: This particular area was inhabited by Orientals—overwhelmingly Japanese! A prominent Seattle citizen is quoted as saying with considerable glee: "So Seattle was white, where it ought to have been black, because it was yellow!"

The secret of this splendid record probably lies in the high *esprit de corps* of the Japanese community, their wholesome home life and strong family loyalty and their zeal for education. The Japanese element in every community is always anxious to make a good record: they take part in civic enterprises like the community chest with enthusiasm, and their teams are usually first over the top with their quota. At the same time they look after their own people in such a way that they are among the least of the burdens of the community welfare and charity workers. They excel in pageants and parades and, with the Chinese, are coming more and more to be depended on for colorful and beautiful additions to all community celebrations. Even in Chicago, when an international program is put on, it is usually the Chinese or Japanese group that wins the crowd.

PUBLIC SCHOOL RECORD

But probably the most outstanding thing about the Japanese is their highly intellectual character and their zeal for education. Here is an authoritative statement by Dean Marvin L. Darsie of the Teachers College, University of California in Los Angeles, based on a study of the Japanese children in the schools of California:

> In comparing the grade locations of Japanese children with those of Americans of corresponding ages, it was found that, on the average, the Japanese child is about one-half grade

behind his American brother. On the other hand, in Los Angeles and San Francisco there is no Japanese retardation, Japanese children in fact being slightly ahead of Americans of the same age.

In a study by Professor Kimball Young, it was found that children of southern European parentage in the schools of San José showed an average retardation of from one and one-half to two grades. When it is considered that the language handicap is approximately equal as between Japanese and southern European children, it is obvious that the Japanese are doing very well indeed as regards school progress. . . . In the tests measuring achievement in school subjects Japanese children were found to be far behind Americans in reading and language subjects generally. They equalled American children in arithmetic and surpassed them in spelling and handwriting.[1]

One reason why the Japanese child does well in school is that the family tradition behind him is zealous for education. A county superintendent of schools on the Pacific Coast says: "There is no truancy among the Japanese. If all our people were like them in that respect we could discontinue our department altogether!" That this is due to home cooperation is suggested by the following earnest but amusing letter written in broken English to the teacher by a Japanese parent:

Referring to your notice of Roy, I have been certainly surprised to learn of him who was committed a guilty or disgraced act in study hour, neglecting his class work last Friday. I have been strictly warned him that if he still acted such a guilty, I myself may send to a reformatory before

[1] *The Pacific World,* Vol. I. Quoted by W. C. Smith in *The Second Generation Oriental in America.*

Mr. —— has arranged him for special school, and I have sentenced him one day confinement on next Saturday, March 22, and this punishment surely meets his agonizing experience. I will watch him how he goes on, and may he not troubled you any further, and your kind advice of him will be greatly appreciated, and please let me know again if he has acted any ashamed conduct.[1]

This zeal for education carries over into the field of religious education as well. The most notable example of this is Seattle where a study made in 1920 by U. G. Murphy, a representative of the American Bible Society who speaks Japanese fluently, showed that 80 per cent of the Japanese children between the ages of six and eighteen were enrolled in some Christian Sunday school. He estimated that in 1933 it was still probably as high as 75 per cent, though some authorities question this. In Yakima, Washington, all the Japanese primary children are reported as attending the white Congregational Sunday school. As one goes south, particularly in the larger centers of Japanese population in Southern California, the percentage in Christian Sunday schools goes much lower, but even so the fact remains that not a few parents who are themselves Buddhists permit their children to attend Christian Sunday schools.

CAN JAPANESE BE ASSIMILATED?

Of course the crux of the whole Japanese, and, indeed, of the whole Oriental, question in the United

[1] Quoted by Smith, *op. cit.*

States is: Can the Japanese, or any Oriental for that matter, be assimilated?

If by assimilation is meant an absorption into the general population by intermarriage, that is as yet an unsolved problem which presents certain obvious difficulties, and will be taken up again in Chapter V. But if by assimilation is meant the acquiring of American thoughts, habits, tastes, language, living standards, religious convictions, family and national ideals, political conceptions, social values, food preferences, slang, chewing-gum and jazz music—then anyone who takes the trouble to get acquainted with the new generation of American-born Japanese will find it positively startling to realize how completely assimilated some of them are and how far along all of them have come. There are, of course, differences here. Those in the city are more Americanized than those in the country. Japanese born in Hawaii often feel ill at ease among the more sophisticated young people of the Pacific Coast who, in turn, feel a distinct gulf, social and otherwise, between themselves and those born in Hawaii. Another deep cleavage exists between those Japanese young people who have had all their education in the United States and the considerable number who, although born here, have been sent back to Japan for their education and have then returned at about college age unadjusted to American life. They may, however, have compensation for this in having ac-

quired a better knowledge of their ancestral culture and language.

Just as a professor at Stanford University said that there were three distinct groups of Chinese students, the Cantonese born in Canton, the Cantonese born in America, and the northern Chinese who are not Cantonese at all, so one may divide the second generation of Japanese into the American born and educated, the Hawaiian born and educated, and the American born but Japanese educated. Fortunately, the last group is much smaller than the other two, but it presents a special problem to church leaders and religious workers in Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. activities. Perhaps the American born and educated would need to be divided again into urban and rural groups, and, even more significantly, into those under Christian and those under Buddhist influences. There is no question but that Christianization and Americanization have gone hand in hand.

BUDDHISM IN AMERICA

The Buddhist groups, while by no means immune or necessarily adverse to Americanization, have had as their natural center an Oriental religion, a liturgy and literature in Japanese rather than English, with an inevitable emphasis upon Japanese customs and traditions. Their priests are educated in Japan and their general outlook is towards the Orient.

In spite of this they are making definite efforts to be

American in the architecture of their buildings and in the development of preaching and Sunday schools. A Buddhist church with an altar bearing its lotus flowers, candles and figure of Amida Buddha, just as one might see in Japan, combined with an auditorium containing pews, hymn books and an organ, is symbolical of what is happening to Buddhism in America. A visitor to Honolulu once attended a Buddhist service in the Hong-wangi temple which closed with the hymn, "Buddha, Savior, pilot me," and then, walking down the street arrived at my own church in time to sing the closing hymn there also. It was "Jesus, Savior, pilot me!"

But, while Japanese young people under Buddhist influence probably tend to be somewhat retarded in their Americanization, just the reverse is true of those who come under Christian influences. The Christian religion fits into the American culture that they are taught in the public schools which, while not giving any formal religious instruction are, nevertheless, permeated with a diffused Christianity which expresses itself in ideals and moral values. Much of the literature studied is saturated with Christian teaching.

The result is that the second-generation Japanese find it much easier to understand Christianity than Buddhism. The schools have given them a background for it. The two most capable and intelligent Buddhist workers that I met on a recent tour of the Pacific Coast happened to have been brought up in

Methodist Sunday schools. One of them, a very alert, intelligent, modishly dressed young woman, after acting as guide through the Nichiren Buddhist temple—a severely American structure, set, however, in a truly beautiful Japanese garden which is a standing rebuke to ninety-five per cent of the churchyards of America—said: "You know, I just can't understand Buddhism at all and I don't know what I believe, but I come here because it pleases my parents. The priest wanted me to take the Sunday school but I don't know what to do with it. I just give the children the things I was taught in the Methodist Sunday school and add the stories about St. Nichiren who was a very good man and founded our sect of Buddhism."

She was obviously much more American and Christian than Japanese and Buddhist.

EXAMPLES OF ASSIMILATION

This Americanization of the second generation is first of all and very conspicuously a matter of language. The dean of a junior college in California says: "I go to a Japanese student party, and if I closed my eyes I could not tell that they were not white American students. They talk about the same topics, play the same games, have the same prejudices, speak with the same accent and use the same college slang as everybody else!"

A friend of the writer's, whose business takes him about from orchard to orchard in a fruit-growing re-

gion, said: "I frequently pick up little Japanese children and let them ride to school in the back seat of the car with my own children, but sometimes I have to turn around to see which is talking, the Japanese or the American."

But the assimilation goes much deeper than the acquiring of an American accent. Take the case, for example, of Mr. Clarence T. Arai, one of the two leading Japanese lawyers in Seattle. He is Seattle born and is a graduate of the University of Washington. As a student he attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the university cadet corps. This was right in the midst of a period of anti-Japanese agitation and drew severe criticism upon the university from the anti-Japanese press and petitions were circulated that he be deprived of his rank. He thereupon went to the colonel in command and offered to resign from the corps, but the colonel refused to accept his resignation and he is an officer in good standing in the United States Reserve Corps today.

Mr. Arai grew up in the Sunday school of the Japanese Baptist church in Seattle and is still active, especially in all its social work, being chairman of its Boy Scout council and hearty supporter of its youth program. His home is a tastefully furnished apartment on a good street, and a dinner at his home is a privilege that affords tasty cooking and interesting conversation.

Mrs. Arai is a fascinating example of a cultural amalgam. Brought up in Santa Inez, among the mountains

of Santa Barbara county, California, she lived away from any Japanese community and learned both English and Spanish as a child. As a result, she speaks with a slight Spanish accent which, with her somewhat Spanish appearance, gives her real distinction. She studied four years at the Santa Barbara Teachers College and is equipped to teach art. Her teachers encouraged her to do this—the decorations in her home show her to be a real artist—but, of course, no teaching position is open to her, regardless of ability. She is now acting as secretary in her husband's office. Neither Mr. or Mrs. Arai can read any Japanese. When Japanese documents come up in a law case, Mr. Arai must have them translated!

Here are a few typical and thoroughly assimilated Japanese who will serve as examples of what is occurring in many lives. It is a list that could be duplicated many times by anyone in vital contact with the Japanese community.

Mr. Kimura of Yakima, Washington. He is active in the Congregational church and runs a general store with American clerks and considerable American trade. Born in Japan, he nevertheless says: "I go back to Japan occasionally and enjoy it, but this is my home. I can't be a citizen but I expect to live and die here."

Mr. Matsuo Yasui, Hood River, Oregon. Born in Japan but now a member of the Hood River Rotary Club, where he is called "Matt." Active in the Methodist church, he runs a general merchandise store, and is

the only Japanese on the board of directors of the Hood River Packing Association. He has bought a fine house in the best residential district; is proud of the fact that the Japanese, although forming five per cent of Hood River's population, have provided no criminal cases for the courts.

Joseph Shimoda, Pomona College. While a student at Franklin High School, Los Angeles, in 1927, he was made editor of the school paper (the editor is chosen by the staff and the journalism classes from three nominees approved by the teacher of journalism). He was a popular and successful editor and won the award of the Southern California High School Press Association. He stood among the highest one-seventh of his class, was the only one out of forty graduates to be elected to the Ephelian Honor Society and, on going to Pomona College, won the Freshman English prize. He came from a Christian Japanese family.[1]

Dr. Kazuo Kawai, professor of Oriental History and Literature in the University of California at Los Angeles, son of the pastor of the Japanese Christian Church in Los Angeles, and educated at the University of California and Stanford. Mrs. Kawai (Uri Nagi) is a graduate nurse and was for three years on the regular staff of the Monterey hospital, a high grade private hospital.

Hiroshi Neeno, Los Angeles, a Roosevelt High

[1] Data furnished by Russell Edwards, teacher in Franklin High School, Los Angeles.

School boy, elected president of the student body in the spring of 1933. This high school has about three thousand students, mostly foreign, including three hundred Japanese. Hiroshi is a member of the Baptist church. He was president of the Japanese Club before being elected president of the student body. This club contributed a Japanese garden to the school and has had thirteen members on the various swimming teams, probably due to the great impetus given by the success of the Japanese swimming team at the Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

THE MIND OF YOUTH

It is an interesting fact that the second-generation Japanese young people on the Pacific Coast have their attention focused on this side of the ocean rather than the other. It is generally recognized that not five per cent of them ever plan or desire to go to Japan except to visit. Out of a group of one hundred young people gathered at a Japanese Christian conference at San Anselmo, only one expressed any desire to return to Japan permanently. The young Chinese on the Pacific Coast are much more interested in Asiatic political developments than the young Japanese, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Matsuoka, the Japanese delegate to Geneva, is quite generally accounted a hero among them.

Many Americans may be interested to know that Mr. Matsuoka formerly lived on the Pacific Coast, is a Christian, and grew up from the age of thirteen in the

Japanese Methodist church in Portland, Oregon. There is a legend current in Sacramento that, when a young fellow, he picked and cut apricots with many other Japanese in Vacaville. "After his day's work was over, he would take a hot bath and then go down by the river and practice public speaking, like Demosthenes beside the sea. Many people thought he was crazy!" They little realized that he would one day be the spokesman for Japan in a great world controversy.

The Los Angeles Olympic Games in 1932 also aroused a good deal of enthusiasm for things Japanese because of the splendid showing made by Japanese athletes. As a result, the racial self-respect of Pacific Coast Japanese has been strengthened and they are no longer inclined to appear apologetic for Japan or to be ashamed of things Japanese. But, in spite of the Olympic Games and the local pride in Mr. Matsuoka as a Pacific Coast product, the Japanese young people of the Coast are not primarily Orient-minded.

A good illustration in proof of this is their choice of subjects in the Pacific Coast Oratorical Contest held among them in the spring of 1933. The speakers had the choice of any one of the following three topics: 1. "What can the second generation leave to the third generation?" 2. "Is book education being too much stressed among us?" 3. "What should be our attitude towards the Manchurian problem?" Out of the twelve speakers, nine took the first topic, two took the second

and only one took the third—in spite of Mr. Matsuoka's great personal popularity.

UNMITIGATEDLY AMERICAN

It is very hard for American observers, who do not have personal contact with these young people, to realize how very American they are in their intellectual and emotional outlook. Because they look Japanese does not at all mean that they think or feel Japanese. As one of them said: "Objectively I am a Japanese but subjectively I am an American." Another, in an interview with the writer, said: "We are Americans with a racial mask we cannot take off. Because we look like Japanese, people treat us just as they have been accustomed to treat our parents. They come to our fruit-stands and talk to us in 'pidgin' English. Sometimes we string them along for a little while, and then suddenly change to idiomatic English just for the fun of watching their surprise!"

A very revealing experience, even to these young people themselves, is sometimes a trip to Japan. Professor William C. Smith of William Jewell College tells of an American-born boy who went to Japan with a baseball team and sent a postcard back to his teacher bearing this interesting observation: "The customs and manners of these people are very peculiar!" Here is another American-born boy's reaction to Japan:

> I always mingled freely with American children while I was in school and never encountered any difficulties. Some

of my best friends were American. I found out how thoroughly I had been Americanized when my father took me to Japan three years ago. I felt out of place in Japan. Everything seemed so strange to me. I was really afraid to go about alone because I could not read the signs and was afraid I would get lost. The Japanese also made comments about me. They commented on my dress and on my ways. My grandfather said I spoke Japanese like a Korean, and that was a real slap in the face. I made fun of things in Japan.[1]

Here is an extract from a letter by an American-born girl writing back to California:

It has been hard finding congenial friends for I find that Japanese girls and I speak wholly different languages. Their ideals, their customs, their conceptions of right and wrong are as different from mine as night from day, and I cannot expect them to meet me half way in the sympathetic and understanding friendship that I crave. So acquaintances are few and friends are fewer still. How I should like to be attending a football game with you this very minute.[2]

But here is the most interesting reaction of all—a typical American boy in the Orient:

I can never forget the feeling of adventure and strangeness and quaintness I felt as I walked through the streets of Yokohama from the steamer to the hotel. Everything impressed me as being funny; the super-dignified, stern, little policemen who courteously but haughtily directed the way, the small telephone poles, the traffic keeping to the left, the rickshaw men jogging along at a funny trot, numerous servants at the hotel who bowed ceremoniously at every turn.

[1] Wm. C. Smith, *The Second Generation Oriental in America.*
[2] *Ibid.*

We soon went to Tokyo and saw the sights. The modernness of the capital surprised me, but, like a true Angeleno, I compared everything I saw with some corresponding thing in Los Angeles, and said to myself: "We can beat that in Los Angeles." Then we went to the home of my uncle in Kobe, who is a professor in a college there. When I went there I spoke so much about Southern California that he could not show me anything in Japan to beat my stories of California, so he tried to beat my stories by telling me of Scotland, where he had studied at the University of Glasgow. I found myself arguing with my two cousins, who were in the prep. department of the college where my uncle taught, about the relative merits of America and Japan, with me always boosting Southern California.

I'm afraid I looked at Japan with too much prejudice. I grudgingly admitted that Japan was an interesting country to see, but I maintained that Southern California was the only place in the world to live. I converted one of my cousins and now he wants to come to America to study. I was glad when I got back to America. The country seemed to be so much more open, and quiet and freer, and naturally I felt as if I had at last reached home when the train came into the warm Southern California sunshine, passing through the dry, barren, brown, hay stubble-covered hills near Santa Barbara. At Santa Barbara I bought a Los Angeles newspaper, the *Examiner*, and I turned first to the sports page and saw that my old high school had won another football game, and I felt happy. It takes a Hearst paper to make me feel at home! [1]

Can anyone doubt that, for better or for worse, that boy has become unmitigatedly American? Assimilation apparently does take place.

[1] Smith, *op cit.*

III

AMERICA'S NEWEST ORIENTAL— THE FILIPINO

FROM the days of Magellan to George Dewey the Philippine Islands were completely beyond the horizon of American life or thought. Except as a name, associated with a certain kind of rope, Manila had no meaning. But, when the American squadron sailed from Hong Kong in search of the Spanish fleet, a new relationship began between America and the Orient which was bound to have great significance in all the years to come. By an unplanned and unconscious reciprocity, which so often achieves unexpected results in human history, not only have the Americans gone to the Philippines but now, in turn, the Filipinos are coming to America.

AMERICAN POLICY IN THE PHILIPPINES

The Americans went to the Philippines from motives of military strategy, namely, to destroy the Spanish fleet before it should become a menace to American commerce in the Pacific. But, that accomplished, the war game seemed to demand more. Here was a chance to strike a blow at Spain, especially since it developed

that a rebellion was going on in the Philippines and Spain was deservedly unpopular. And so the war closed with the Islands in our possession. What next? Turn them loose? They seemed hardly ready for self-government, and so a period of protection and tutelage was to follow and the Islands were to be led along the paths of American education and self-government. The Filipinos never felt quite sure as to what the final goal of this tuition would be. Nor were the Americans sure. The more idealistic believed that we held the Islands only in trust and that, sooner or later, when adequately prepared, they would be launched at an opportune moment out upon the troubled sea of national independence. On the other hand, the more hard-headed realists among us, noting the mounting investments of commercial interests, and following the general habits of western imperialism, evidently expected to keep the American flag flying over the Islands indefinitely.

The status of the individual Filipino has been almost as uncertain as that of his country. He lives under the American flag and is expected to be loyal to it, but he is not an American citizen. On the other hand, he is not exactly an alien either. He is unquestionably an Oriental and, as such, might expect the immigration authorities to shoo him away. But, while an Oriental, he is, nevertheless, under the flag already, and, although he has no quota, he still comes in. He could not have a quota, anyway, because, as an Oriental, and being neither a white man nor a black one, he is in-

eligible to citizenship. He is in the curious situation of being too American to be excluded, and yet too alien to be naturalized.

But here again is a curious contradiction. He can be naturalized if he has served in the American Navy for three years. He may have studied at an American college or belonged to an American church twice as long, but these contacts with American culture will not entitle him to citizenship; only service in the Navy can do that, according to a United States Supreme Court decision in 1925.[1] This is certainly giving the Navy a preferred rating as a training school in American citizenship. Of course, if Congress carries out its promise of making the Philippines independent at the end of ten years, and if then by 1944 the people of the Philippines accept independence as offered to them, he will find himself delivered from all this uncertainty when he becomes just an ordinary alien ineligible for citizenship, with no quota or other rights of immigration. Meanwhile, the Filipino, knowing very little about all this, keeps coming to America. His official status is that of a "United States national," neither citizen nor alien but liable for military service in time of war.

The Filipino came first to the mainland as a student, and to Hawaii as a laborer. When the Japanese government decided to apply the "Gentlemen's Agreement" to Hawaii as well as continental America, the Hawaiian sugar planters, being no longer able to import Japanese,

[1] Lawrence Guy Brown, *Immigration.*

turned to the Philippine Islands for a supply of cheap, mobile, unskilled agricultural labor for work in large gangs on the great sugar plantations. They were brought in under definite conditions and were supposed to be returned to their homes in a certain time. But people who are once uprooted have a tendency to stay uprooted, and, as the Filipinos in Hawaii heard of how Japanese and Portuguese had made Hawaii a half-way station on the way to the mainland, they too longed to go to the mainland. Moreover, a whole new generation had grown up in the Philippines under American or American-trained teachers, and the inevitable result of all these educational contacts, plus the constant influence of American motion pictures, was to make the United States seem like a veritable El Dorado.

FILIPINO IMMIGRATION

How many Filipinos are there in the United States? The figures vary. The United States Census of 1930 gave a total of 45,208; an article in *The Philippines Mail* of Salinas, California, which announces on its front page that it is the "Livest Red Hot Filipino Paper in California," on July 24, 1933, mentions 50,000. Lawrence Guy Brown in his book, *Immigration,* published in 1933, gives an estimate of 60,000, while the Rev. T. W. Bundy of Seattle estimates a total of 80,000, with approximately 6,000 arriving every year and very few returning to their homeland.

This Filipino immigration is very recent, so recent

that Professor Beach's study, *Oriental Crime in California,* based on statistics gathered from 1900 to 1927, says not a word about Filipino crime, although the newspapers by 1933 were giving large attention to it. When the results of the Pacific Coast Survey on Race Relations were summarized in the excellent and informing special issue of the *Survey Graphic* in May 1926, the Filipinos were not even mentioned as a part of the problem!

The available statistics show that Filipinos first appeared in Hawaii in 1908 when the sugar plantations reported 141 of them in their employ. Not until 1910 did they appear in any numbers, 2,361. From this date on they were steadily imported into Hawaii by the plantations to replace the Japanese, whose immigration was stopped by the "Gentlemen's Agreement" in 1908, so that in 1920 there were 21,031 Filipinos in Hawaii and 39,604 in 1924.[1] The census for 1930 shows 63,052. As with the Japanese, the immigration tide reached the mainland about twenty years later than it did Hawaii. The census returns for continental United States show only 160 Filipinos in 1910, with a moderate rise to 5,603 in 1920 and a very marked increase to 45,208 in 1930.

Not only is the Filipino a very recent immigrant, but he is a very mobile and migratory one. He may be in Seattle loafing in the winter, in Alaska canning salmon in the summer and out picking apples in the Yakima

[1] Romanzo Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii.*

Valley in the fall. He may be in Los Angeles today and in Chicago next week. He follows the lure of economic opportunity with almost complete mobility because he is young, unmarried and adventurous. The labor gangs on the Pacific Coast average under twenty-five years of age, and whereas the typical white American community has 102.3 men to every 100 women, the Filipino has 1,437 men to every 100 women! Unhindered by age and unencumbered with families, the Filipinos make ideal seasonal and migratory laborers. In occupying this field they are, however, only beginning where the Chinese and, in turn, the Japanese began before them, and are passing through a stage from which those older races have already graduated.

Thus far, with all his migratory tendency, the Filipino, at least as an agricultural laborer, has remained principally on the Pacific Coast; though, as a student, house servant and waiter he has scattered widely throughout the country, and shows a tendency to concentrate in Chicago and New York, as will be quite apparent to anyone consulting tables I and II in the Appendix, which give the distribution of Orientals throughout the United States. The bulk of the Filipino population, in 1930 at least, was made up of 36,407 in the far West (Pacific and Mountain States), with the remaining 8,801 scattered over the eastern portion of the country, 1,796 of them in Chicago and 1,797 in New York. These are census figures of 1930, but the actual numbers have increased since then, so that in

Chicago, for instance, while figures as high as 7,000 have sometimes been claimed for the Filipino population, even a conservative estimate would be at least 2,500.

THE FILIPINO AS A LABORER

As a migratory laborer, the Filipino has been largely employed in salmon canneries, fruit farms, vegetable gardens and sugar-beet ranches. In the Salinas beet and lettuce fields they formerly received fifteen cents an hour, but in the summer of 1933 their pay was raised to twenty cents an hour. A day's work varies from five to ten hours. The men work in gangs under a labor contractor who recruits, organizes, boards and disciplines them, and to whom they, in return, pay sixty cents a day for baths, board and room in "clubs" or camps where they have Filipino food.

A labor contractor may operate from 30 to 120 men in several separate gangs. Some of these "clubs" are only crude white-washed shacks, but there is a tendency, in building new camps, for the labor contractors to make them attractive little cottage communities, with facilities for recreation for the men when off duty. The labor boss, in turn, contracts with the larger farmers or big agricultural companies to bring his gang and pick a field of lettuce or weed a field of sugar beets. The work is done quickly and efficiently and just when it is needed. When the job is finished the gang piles into the contractor's truck and goes off to the camp or to an-

other job. These gangs seem contented and cheerful and one thing at least is certain, farming conducted in this way is far from lonesome.

This is an interesting and apparently happy and efficient form of labor organization. The laborers are all young fellows, while the contractor is an older man with a definitely paternal attitude towards his "boys." In fact, the laborers often come from his home village in the Philippines and many of them are related to him. This was the case with J. B. Sampayan, a labor contractor in the interesting group of Filipinos whom the writer interviewed in Salinas in 1933. Mr. Sampayan, who is active in the local Methodist-Presbyterian church enterprise, studied three years in the Manila Normal School and was formerly a teacher in the Philippines. He has lived eight years in California, speaks excellent English, has a strong, intelligent, kindly face, and is evidently a wise leader of his men and an active force in local Filipino community affairs.

Another labor contractor whom the writer interviewed was Mr. Clemente, an older man, about sixty, and evidently looked up to as the leading Filipino of the valley. He had spent seven years in Hawaii and thirteen in California and seemed to be a vigorous and sturdy man of mature wisdom. Although living in a mere shack, he has evidently acquired some wealth and has donated the lot for the new Filipino church in Salinas, of which he is an active member. He deplored the bad influences surrounding the Filipinos in America

who, said he, were not given to gambling or wine in their home country but were led astray in America because of loneliness.

THE FILIPINO COMMUNITY

It is very interesting to observe the type of Filipino community which is growing up in Salinas on the basis of a group of some three thousand agricultural laborers, practically all unmarried young men under twenty-five with a few older, trusted and, in Salinas at least, rather sagacious leaders of their own race. The chief organizations are the Labor Supply Association, the newspaper, the various clubs and the churches. The Labor Supply Association seems to be somewhat like a Chinese trade guild. Its dominant directing element is made up of the labor contractors, but the laborers themselves are also members in a sort of junior capacity.

The secretary of the Labor Association is P. A. Caronjay who holds an A.B. from Fordham College, New York, studied for one year in a Chicago law school and then graduated in law from the University of Detroit. As this college record indicates, he is a Roman Catholic. The newspaper is a very alert, readable weekly publication called *The Philippines Mail* which carries news of Filipino interest from all over the Coast but devotes surprisingly small space to news from the Islands. It is printed in English, as are all the eight other Filipino papers on the Coast, except one in Stockton, California, which uses various Filipino dia-

lects. The editor of the *Mail* is Luis Agudo, who has been thirteen years in this country, studied mechanical engineering for a year and then drifted into journalism by working on an American paper in Pacific Grove. The business manager, Venerando C. Gonzales, has had nine years' experience as a public school teacher in the Philippines and in this country has had two years in a commercial high school and has taken courses with the National Correspondence Schools.

Next come the clubs. "The Sons of the Philippines" is a political organization and an arena for oratory and debate. "The Workingmen" is a study club meeting to discuss local and international problems. "The Filipino Woman's Club," composed of the relatively few Filipinas in the community, takes the welfare work among the Filipinos as its special responsibility.

FILIPINO CHURCHES

Then come the churches. As the Filipino is nominally Catholic, the bulk of them are more or less loosely related to the local Roman Catholic church, which has recognized this relationship by providing them with a Filipino Catholic Hall for meetings and social gatherings. Before coming to this country, however, many Filipinos had rebelled against certain abuses and tyrannies of the Roman church in their homeland, and, as a result, a native Independent Catholic Church under the leadership of Archbishop Aglipay has been formed in the Islands. Many adherents have been gained in the

Philippines by the various Protestant denominations which have divided the Islands into separate zones of missionary responsibility. A considerable number of these Protestant adherents have migrated to Hawaii and the Pacific Coast. It is estimated that at home in the Islands eighty-two per cent are at least nominally Roman Catholics, fourteen per cent are Aglipayan Independent Catholics, and one per cent are Protestant.[1] There are also Mohammedans and some primitive religious groups. In America, however, the hold of the Roman Catholic church seems to be more relaxed and the response to Protestant work correspondingly greater.

The Protestant church in Salinas is nominally Methodist, but is really a joint enterprise as it receives considerable support also from the Presbyterians. It is affiliated with the Filipino Christian Fellowship, which is interdenominational. The pastor is the Rev. Juan Callao, who is a college graduate and has completed six months' study in the Union Theological Seminary in Manila and has had six years' experience as a preacher in the Philippines. He is a capable, energetic pastor, speaks good English, drives a car to cover his widely scattered parish, and is evidently a leading figure in the community—modest, forceful, constructive and friendly. His great project in the summer of 1933 was the construction of a Filipino Community Center which should

[1] John L. Mixon and Theodore K. Noss, *Survey of the Filipinos in Chicago.*

provide a home for the church and also serve the social needs of the Filipino community. To this end, as already noted, Mr. Clemente, one of the Board of Trustees, had given a lot, and $1500 had been pledged by the Filipino community, a most encouraging expression of loyalty and self-help on their part.

The hopeful elements in the Salinas situation seem to be, first of all, the relatively stable employment conditions, "Our boys here work rather permanently, they have steady work nine months of the year with three months' slack time in winter"; secondly, the rather mature and able type of leadership, and thirdly, the admirable way in which these leaders seem to be pulling together for the common good. This is all the more remarkable since they come from different tribes at home: Caronjay is a Visayan, Agudo is a Tagalog, Gonzales is an Ilocano and Callao is a Pampango.

Stockton, California, is another good place to sample the Filipino situation on the Pacific Coast. Here, in this region of low marshy land at the delta of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, is the center of a great gardening industry. Ninety per cent of the canned asparagus in the world is said to come from this area, as well as large quantities of strawberries, potatoes and garden truck. It is all a "stooping over" kind of agriculture for which Japanese and Filipinos have proved especially well adapted. Indeed, large areas of this section were unreclaimed and useless tule marshes until brought under cultivation by these lithe brown work-

ers, who seem to endure the severe heat and endless stooping much better than any white labor. It is estimated that there are 10,000 Filipinos in this area, 2,000 in Stockton alone.

TYPICAL FILIPINO PROBLEMS

What are the problems of the Filipino here? In answer to this question, Dr. M. A. Rader of Stockton, a former Methodist missionary in the Philippines and now the wise friend of all the Stockton Filipinos, in an interview with the author, said:

> He has three outstanding problems: exploitation, gambling and overcrowding. First of all, he is exploited by the white man who hires him at low wages, and holds out on him by charging big bills for board and room and also fines for not showing up. They are even exploited sometimes by labor contractors of their own race.

In vegetable gardens near Seattle the writer found Japanese employing Filipinos at $25 a month with board, thus displacing Japanese labor which had formerly received $50. White men staged a riot at Kent, Washington, as a protest against the Japanese employing Filipinos instead of white men.

On the other problems Dr. Rader continued as follows:

> The Filipino's second problem is gambling. If he has money, he craves excitement and gambles his money away. He herds into Chinatown because he is afraid to encroach on American areas, and yet Chinatown is full of gambling

and bootlegging. As a result the young Filipino degenerates and learns vices here in the United States. His third problem is overcrowding. Filipinos crowd into rooms somewhat as they crowd into automobiles, and who has seen a Filipino car on the highway with less than ten or a dozen in it? This overcrowding makes them a health menace, so that 40 per cent of Filipinos' mortality in this country is due to tuberculosis. And yet their work is very largely the handling of foodstuff!

In spite of their problems, there are also encouraging things to report on the Stockton Filipino situation. One is the admirable quality of some of their leadership. It is a pity that the American community does not really know the constructive outstanding leaders among the Filipinos, but judges the whole race by the conspicuous criminal element which gets involved in murders and various escapades with women. Here, for example, are thumb-nail sketches of two high-grade Filipino gentlemen whose quiet, constructive service for their race will never get them first page publicity in the American newspapers and who, therefore, will remain unknown to all Americans outside of Stockton itself, except the select few who read this book.

Primo Villaruz is a graduate of the University of Manila and is now employed in a responsible scientific position by the State Water Department analyzing samples of water sent in to the Stockton laboratory from all over the state. He is an earnest Christian man and is head of the Filipino Community Association. When unemployment conditions became alarming in

Stockton Mr. Villaruz and Dr. Rader secured an old opium den, cleaned it up and transformed it into a shelter for indigent Filipinos. In all this they received very little sympathy from the American officials, whose typical reaction to the Filipino in trouble is not apt to go far beyond an attitude implying "Why are they over here, anyway?" Mrs. Villaruz is half-American, the daughter of a United States Army officer who brought her to this country.

John Y. Billiones is not a millionaire, as his name might imply, but a photographer—and photographers are rarely ever millionaires in any country. But he is rich in his family and in his devotion to his people. His wife is an Italian, a woman of musical and artistic ability, and their two boys are a credit to both father and mother. The older son, John, is a member of the high school scholarship honor society. On graduating from grammar school he won the American Legion award—a large medal bearing the inscription: "American Legion School Award. Courage, Honor, Service, Leadership, Scholarship." His younger brother Louis would have won the same award in turn the teacher said,—but the Legion discontinued giving the medals. Was it because, year after year, they were won by Oriental children? The girl who received the girl's medal the same year was a Japanese, Mildred Merikatani. It was interesting to hear these Filipino-Italian youths report on the racial situation in the Stockton High School:

There are Japanese and Chinese on the track team and a Chinese on the football team. A Japanese boy won the cup given for all around athletic excellence by a local automobile dealer whose son was hurt in an athletic contest. Once a Chinese boy was elected cheer leader, in the fall of 1932, but there was so much talk against him that he had to resign.

A commendable attempt to use the drama as a means of better community racial understanding was reported by Mr. John Y. Billiones. In 1927, after some Filipino murders had created a bad impression on the American community, he wrote and staged a drama called *Alive* which was put on by Filipino talent in the auditorium before an audience of 3,000 people. "Every time Filipinos commit some crime, I try to get up something good to show the American people that all Filipinos are not so bad," he said, by way of explanation. In Act I, a Filipino is shown plunging into various forms of dissipation until at the end trouble after trouble comes upon him and his wife dies. In Act II it develops that his wife is not really dead. She revives and the wake is transformed into a birthday party. The hero repents of his misdeeds and the American employer comes in and cheers the company by telling of the things he plans to do to better conditions among his Filipino employees. Act III shows the happy return to the Philippine Islands.

Although of Catholic background himself, Mr. Billiones was inclined to think that the Protestants on the Pacific Coast were doing more for the Filipinos than

the Catholics. "The Catholics wait for them to come to the church but the Protestants go out after them. Here in Stockton they are providing food and clothing for those in want," said he, speaking appreciatively of help received from the Methodists and the Pentecostal Filipino Center. Others interviewed in Stockton were not so much impressed with the sympathy of the churches: "There isn't a church in town that wants the Filipinos to come," said one man, himself a churchman. "The churches are doing practically nothing for them, they have no meeting place or social center of their own and hold their meetings in the vestry of the Presbyterian church at three o'clock on Sunday afternoons, the only place and time available for them."

The Filipino arrives in America not as a pioneer of his race but simply as one more Oriental in the eyes of the community. To the average American observer Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos look very much alike and, while closer acquaintance teaches the American to distinguish between them, the distinction is not in the Filipino's favor. That he is properly classified as an Oriental is indicated by the following description by Dr. Fay Cooper Cole, one of America's foremost anthropologists: The Filipinos are Malays, who in turn are Southern Mongoloids and may be spoken of as Orientals. To be specific, it appears that the Malay is an ancient mixture made up of a small fraction of aboriginal pygmy blacks and a rather strong sprinkling of early Caucasoid, but all predominantly Southern

Mongoloid. Racially they are close to the Southern Chinese and the bulk of the Japanese population.[1]

THE NEWEST ORIENTAL ARRIVAL

As the latest Oriental to arrive in the United States, the Filipino is naturally the least popular. Chinese and Japanese immigration has been arrested, but here is a new kind of Oriental who, because he is a "United States national," enters freely. The result is that he finds a pattern of hostile community attitudes and reactions all set up to receive him. The Chinese have now passed from martyrdom to something akin to a sort of secular canonization as "the honest Chinaman." The Japanese never were really as much disliked as the Chinese and are steadily winning increased respect. But the Filipino now comes in for the wrath which is born of economic fear and racial antipathy. "It's all right to have an International House on the campus," said an outstanding senior at the University of California, "and I don't mind the Chinese and Japanese, but I do think they are doing too darned much for these Filipinos, they are no good at all!" Such is the typical attitude. The Chinese have survived it in their day, so have the Japanese and, probably, so will the Filipino.

But the Filipino, in addition to being subject to heavy discount for being an Oriental, and often a rather riotous, juvenile-acting Oriental at that, has a peculiar handicap in the field of social relationships. To begin

[1] Quoted by Lawrence Guy Brown in *Immigration.*

with, although he is an Oriental, he comes from a land where no very rigorous race lines are drawn, and he thinks of himself as an American. He has been taught English in the schools before coming here, he has learned to salute the flag, he has been told America is his country and he has had his emotions thrilled by hundreds of American movies. The result is that he feels himself to be a real American. Add to this the fact that he is very socially inclined, that he is young and adventurous and away from home, and also that he comes from a land where a man does not meekly accept the wife provided by his family but goes out and does his own courting, and it is apparent that the social situation is quite different from what it was with the clannish self-centered Chinese or with the intensely race-conscious and fairly well married Japanese. The Filipino wants society, he wants feminine society, and he wants music, gaiety and adventure. And he gets it. But it doesn't add to his popularity.

There being very few Filipinas in this country—only one to every fourteen men—he naturally has to break across the race lines into some other racial group if he is to find a girl. Up in Alaska, for example, the canneries employ Indian girls and either Chinese, Japanese or Filipino men. The missionaries among the Alaskan Indians find this a distinct menace especially in those canneries where Filipinos are employed. They are keen on music and dancing and make love to the naïve and inexperienced Indian maidens in a way that sweeps

them far from the wholesome training of the missionaries. Sometimes these Indian girls are enticed away to Seattle to their harm. Farther down the Coast the Filipino makes love to the Mexican, or Italian women, or to women of any race that become well enough acquainted with him to be captivated by his charm—for he has charm. He is gentle, considerate, affectionate, entertaining, a lavish spender, a natty dresser, in short a good deal of a Spanish cavalier! "The principal objection to the Filipinos arises from the fact that they cross the race line in their relations with white women," says the Report on Crime and the Foreign Born of the National Commission on Law Observance.[1]

The following editorial from *The Philippines Mail* of July 24, 1933, indicates that the Filipinos themselves appreciate the problems involved.

DANCE HALLS SERIOUS MENACE.—Sentiment is growing stronger in Filipino communities throughout the state, newspaper reports received here indicate that something should be promptly done in Los Angeles to close up places of questionable repute that are proving evil temptations to scores of young Filipinos in that city and the territory contributory to it. Operating in Los Angeles at present and catering principally to Filipino trade, are said to be no less than six large public dance halls employing more than five hundred white girl entertainers.

Los Angeles, which has a large Filipino population, today presents the only serious Filipino social problem in the country. It is solving itself rapidly nearly everywhere else.

[1] No. 10, June 24, 1931.

But in Los Angeles a great many Filipinos who hang around the dance halls are turning petty criminals or becoming objects of Filipino charity because they prefer the company of these women instead of working and earning honest livings for themselves.

Another objection to the dance halls is that American public sentiment is not favorable to promiscuous public association of Filipinos and white girls. But few persons realize that the Filipinos are not to blame if white women of shady reputation lure them on for the sake of the small sums of money they are able to get from the Filipinos by the taxi-dance methods.

Those Los Angeles dance halls constitute a serious menace and should be closed. The police of that city should be urged to close them promptly to remove the menace, send the Filipinos to work and preserve the friendly feeling between Filipinos and Americans.

Professor Romanzo Adams has noted that

there are certain Filipino characteristics which are destined to work in their favor, so far as acceptance by the American community is concerned. Relative to numbers and considering conduct, they do not arouse as strong and lasting opposition as do the Chinese or Japanese. Their mannerisms seem to be more like European immigrants; and the fight against Orientals has been made largely by people whose ancestry runs back to Europe in one or two generations. Probably the Filipinos' being Christian—Roman Catholic—has something to do with it. Not only is there a certain direct result of this membership in a common religious organization, but in the centuries of Spanish rule in the Philippines there was an assimilation of some of the manners and attitudes that belong to European Christianity and to chivalry.

All this raises some interesting questions for the future. The Filipino evidently will not develop into a self-contained male clan as the Chinese have done in the past, leaving their wives in Asia. Will they follow the much more wholesome Japanese procedure and bring in Filipino women and so pass on into the next stage of orderly family life? Or will they increasingly break across the lines of racial caste, as they now seem inclined to do, and leave a community of mixed blood behind them? Churches certainly are embarrassed by this characteristic of the Filipino and, while it does not excuse them for failure to provide the Filipinos with religious leadership and institutions, it may, in part, explain some of the hesitancy and uncertainty with which they are approaching the problem—or rather staying away from it.

FILIPINOS IN AN URBAN SETTING

Let us now look at the Filipino problem in quite a different setting. During the spring of 1933 two graduate students of the Chicago Theological Seminary and the University of Chicago, Mr. John L. Mixon and Mr. Theodore K. Noss, made a survey of the Filipino situation in Chicago. This was done at the request of the Chicago Congregational Union and under the general direction of Professors Arthur E. Holt and S. C. Kincheloe of the Department of Survey and Research of the Seminary. The following picture of urban Filipino life is largely based on this survey.

Coming from a land of many languages and dialects, it is not surprising to find the Filipinos in this country divided up into many different groups. While some of them know a little Spanish, that language is by no means their mother tongue. They all know English, but among themselves they cling to their native dialects. Therefore, for linguistic and social reasons they tend to organize into little clubs, many of which are based upon the locality in the Philippines from which their members come. There are also organizations growing out of common interests such as the Postal Club for postoffice employees, the American Legion for ex-service men, and the clubs for students at Lewis Institute and Crane Junior College which many of them attend. Probably every Filipino belongs to at least one club. It is, in a way, his substitute for a home circle. Besides the smaller clubs there are four large ones which are really established institutions. These are the Filipino Association of Chicago, the Filipino Club of America, the Gibbons Society, and the Filipino Community Center.

All these clubs are highly organized and conduct their meetings with strict attention to parliamentary law—so much so that to an outside observer they sometimes seem more concerned with procedure than with the business on hand. The meetings also give opportunity for spirited debates, and the order of business includes reports of committees on social events, finances,

calls on those who are sick or in trouble, and relief for those who are in need or unemployed.

In addition to their regular meetings, the clubs put on special programs from time to time. They do not hesitate to draw on the best talent in the city for speakers, their own artists provide good music and, failing to secure an outside speaker, they can easily arrange a program of oratory and debate. Dancing is always a major item, banquets are very popular and in the summer this social life spreads outdoors with picnics and athletic contests at the parks and beaches. It is quite obvious that these clubs, large and small, perform a useful and necessary function. They provide social contacts for the lonely and homesick, opportunities for self expression and leadership, and their fellowship gives a sense of security and social solidarity to their members.

The problems which the Chicago Filipino faces are economic, racial and social, just as are the problems of every other racial group, but they have their own distinctive aspects. The economic problem for the Filipino is a severe one for he is strictly limited as to the employments he may enter. For example, in certain hotels and high-grade restaurants he may be a bus boy but may not aspire to any higher function. He may be a house boy or cook in a private family, or waiter in a restaurant, but he would stand no chance of being employed as a street car conductor. The United States civil service has proved to be his most lucrative open-

ing. The Filipinos discovered the civil service through their experience in the navy, where many of them served during the World War. Here they became accustomed to taking examinations for promotion. It was only a step further to try out the civil service examinations, and as a result, there are now some two hundred of them employed in the Chicago postoffice, where they have good wages and secure positions. This economic security has made them desirable husbands, and some of them have married Polish girls and have established comfortable homes.

INTERRACIAL COMPLICATIONS

As already suggested, the economic problem of the Filipino is complicated by his racial status. This is a still larger factor in his social difficulties. There is, for example, a standing feud between the Italians and the Filipinos due to the fact that the Filipinos, having very few women of their own race, and being mostly young men in their twenties, have naturally turned to another group with a Latin and Roman Catholic background for feminine companionship. Of this the Italian male has not approved. As a result there are parts of town where no Filipino dares to go. One of their organizations, indeed, had to move from the west to the north side of Chicago because gangs of Italian hoodlums systematically broke the windows of their club house. The Filipino is timid in a great city like Chicago, and he well may be as he reads newspaper ac-

counts like this one from the *Chicago Tribune* of November 17, 1931: "Gang kills one, beats another in night attack. . . . Both men, Filipinos, . . . were beaten by half a dozen men. Elanparo was knocked unconscious. . . . Montigo was followed . . . and shot as he reached his home. Police found him dead."

Social and racial prejudice operates against the Filipinos to such an extent that they find it difficult to enter the more attractive parts of the city except as they have jobs in the better homes as house boys. The result inevitably is a tendency for them to gravitate towards socially disorganized areas where the walls of prejudice are lowest. They have been locating, therefore, more and more on the near north side, which is an area of very mixed racial composition, of cheap boarding houses and great social disintegration.

It is not that they choose to live in a vice area, it is simply that they can live there with the least criticism and find it difficult to live anywhere else. Recent sociological studies in Chicago show that certain disorganized areas of the city are crime-breeders, no matter what race lives there. In them a high delinquency rate is maintained steadily in spite of wave after wave of different nationalities inhabiting them. The conditions of life there are simply hostile to good character and behavior. And it is the Filipinos' misfortune to be condemned to live in such an area.

The place where they live, in particular, largely influences the kind of women whom they meet. While

they come in contact with some American girls of high type and also with mature Christian women who are interested in them in a motherly way, and while they not infrequently intermarry with Italian, Polish and other immigrant groups, still the very part of town they live in, as well as their own loneliness, exposes them to exploitation by women of bad character, "gold-diggers" who lavish their attentions on new comers who have any money. It is this type of girl who, meeting a Filipino arriving in Chicago to study and with money in his pocket for his education, breaks his morale and leaves him penniless, disillusioned and discouraged.

THE FILIPINO COMMUNITY CENTER

Over against this situation stands the Filipino Community Center, located at the corner of north La Salle and Chestnut Streets, in the very heart of the disorganized area of the near north side. This center had its origin in 1926 when the Chicago Church Federation began to support a part-time student Filipino pastor to do work among his countrymen. In 1931 the work was expanded and reorganized with a board of directors of its own. Its announced purpose is four-fold: (1) to be a religious influence in the community; (2) to conduct educational classes; (3) to carry on a recreational and social program that will make the institution a center for the Filipino community; and (4) to shelter those who are in need.

This work is carried on in a small three-story building, the first two floors of which contain a pool room, a restaurant and a little kitchen, a large meeting room, an apartment and two offices. The third floor is a dormitory. A small chapel next door on Chestnut Street, used by an Armenian group, is available at certain times to Filipinos. The staff of the center consists of the director, who has charge of educational, social and relief activities and general responsibility for the property and the program; the director of religious work, or pastor, who is a mature Filipino student provided by the Chicago Church Federation; and the secretary, an American woman, who spends her mornings at the center caring for correspondence and financial matters. The care of the building is on a volunteer basis in return for accommodations which are provided.

With this modest, not to say meager, equipment, a very ambitious program is undertaken. The religious department conducts a Sunday school on Sunday afternoons followed by a worship service in the adjoining chapel. This, in turn, is followed by an open forum addressed by some outside speaker, and the writer can testify from experience that it is a keen and responsive audience to address. On Tuesday evenings the religious work director leads a class in Christian ethics. He also has an inner circle of especially stable and reliable members, known as the Fellowship of Men, which meets in his own room. This group has rules for religious and ethical conduct within and without the fellowship, for

stability in jobs, for safe-guarding earnings and for loyalty to the center.

The educational program includes classes in English, folk-dancing, Philippine-American relations, Spanish, gymnastics, athletics, choral music, and by no means least important, social hygiene. The purpose of this course is to give instruction in eating habits, proper exercise and the seriousness of social diseases, a subject about which newcomers to America seem to know little, but which is vitally necessary as revealed by the fact that medical authorities estimate that one Filipino in four had acquired a social disease before coming to Chicago. This instruction is given by Filipino physicians.

This whole educational program is inevitably irregular and spasmodic, because the teachers are unpaid volunteers who give their services out of social and religious devotion to a foreign group, and also because Filipinos themselves are irregular in attendance. This is partly because of the nature of their occupations and partly because of their extremely social flair which puts the pleasant companionship of the moment far above definite appointments. As an experienced worker with them once said: "When a Filipino fails to show up and I ask him, 'Why?' the usual answer is, 'Oh, I met a friend!' That explains everything."

The recreational and social program of the center includes the pool room and restaurant, the activities of numerous clubs which make their headquarters here,

provision for medical instruction and legal aid and the conduct of an employment bureau. There is also a Friday night dance, sponsored by the center management. The Filipinos are great lovers of dancing, and so one of the issues constantly before the institution is the girl question. Whether to try to run the center as a men's club for men only, or to try to bring high-type American girls from outside communities, or to concentrate on the American and immigrant girls already engaged or married to Filipinos—whichever course is followed, difficulties are sure to arise. Possibly one wise policy would be to develop more recreational group games and programs by which wholesome social contacts may be built up by other means than dancing.

The relief work of the center, during the difficult depression days, has meant housing and feeding a shifting group of sixty or seventy men. This has been heroic and necessary, but has often limited the rest of the activities and tended to give the center the appearance of a "flop-house" instead of a religious and educational institution.

The chief value of work like the Chicago Filipino Center and similar work in Brooklyn, N. Y., seems to be that they, at least, point the way to a better understanding of the problems of these newest Orientals in America. What the church is here attempting, very imperfectly and inadequately, ought to be done much more extensively by the united Christian forces in many other cities of the country.

IV

LIGHT FROM HAWAIIAN EXPERIENCE

HAWAII is a land of jagged mountains and opalescent seas, of waving palms and sloping fields of sugar cane, of white sands, brilliant flowers, glorious clouds and sunsets wonderful beyond description. It has volcanos, coral reefs, majestic canyons and an atmosphere as soft as velvet. But the most wonderful thing about it is the people! Nowhere else on earth is so remarkable a combination of races living together with so much good-will and mutual understanding as in Hawaii. Of course there are tensions and frictions and dangers—these are everywhere—but in Hawaii certain techniques of racial adjustment have certainly been better developed than elsewhere.

AN "ETHNOLOGICAL MUSEUM"

A careful study of the chart on page 104 will indicate why Hawaii has been described as "an ethnological museum and a sociological laboratory."

Taking these races in the order of their arrival in the Islands, one finds that the basic group, the Hawaiian, belongs to the Polynesian race, which also originally inhabited Samoa, Tahiti, the Marquesas

POPULATION OF HAWAII[1]

	Total (1930)	*Foreign-born (in 1920)*	*Approximate Average Length of Residence in Hawaii in 1920 of Foreign-born*
Hawaiian	22,636	.....	.....
Caucasian-Hawaiian	15,632	.....	.....
Asiatic-Hawaiian	12,592	.....	.....
Portuguese	27,588	5,982	29 years
Porto Rican	6,671	2,581	19 years
Spanish	1,219	1,414	9 years
American and North European	44,895	.....	.....
Chinese	27,179	11,165	31 years
Japanese	139,631	60,688	15 years
Korean	6,461	3,487	15 years
Filipino	63,052	18,728	4 years
All other	780		
TOTAL	368,336		

Note: The figures in the second column for 1920 would be slightly smaller by 1930, except for the Filipinos which would probably be increased to about 50,000.

[1] Romanzo Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii.*

Islands, and New Zealand, where they are known as Maoris. They are a gentle, kindly folk, soft-spoken and music-loving. They are not hard workers, either physically or mentally, though capable of great exertion along lines where they are interested, such as swimming and athletics. They make excellent sailors, cowboys, chauffeurs and mechanics. They are Christians—largely Congregationalists—with lesser groups of Catholics and Episcopalians. Mormons also have carried on extensive missionary work and have a beautiful temple and several thousand adherents.

The next segment of the human family to arrive was the white race, represented by American, British and other European stocks. The white man came as a sailor or a missionary and remained as a beach-comber, teacher, preacher, business man, or captain of industry. More recently he has been coming as a soldier and as a tourist.

IMPORTED ORIENTAL LABOR

The Chinese were brought in, beginning about the middle of the nineteenth century, to work in the newly developing sugar plantations. Most of them have "graduated" from the plantations now, and have become business men and contractors. Their children go in for education and many of their daughters teach in the public schools. Their sons often study medicine, dentistry, law and other graduate subjects on the mainland after taking a bachelor's degree at the University

of Hawaii. The earlier Chinese came as single men, and some of them married Hawaiian women, who valued them as husbands because they were industrious and took good care of their families. The resultant Asiatic-Hawaiian group in the population is usually more closely attached to the Hawaiian than the Chinese community, and is a handsome, sturdy, intelligent race often combining the best features of both the parent stocks.

Missionary work has long been carried on among the Chinese, and strong churches exist among them under the Hawaiian Board of Missions (Congregational) and the Episcopal diocese. Sun Yat-sen, the great Chinese national hero, grew up in Hawaii and was educated at Iolani, an Episcopal school for boys. For this and other reasons the Hawaiian Chinese are intensely interested in political developments in China, and some of the young people look to that country as a possible place in which to find a career and invest their lives.

The Japanese followed the Chinese some years later, but in larger numbers. They also came to work on the plantations, and many of them still do so, but there has been a constant withdrawal from the routine of regimented plantation labor as they have seen openings in business or as mechanics or independent farmers. Their children, like the Chinese, go in for book-learning and have almost swamped the public schools in recent years. The crest of the wave has now reached the high

schools, as President Crawford has so interestingly brought out in his recent book,[1] and will soon reach the university, where they already constitute over one-third of the student enrolment.

The Japanese are well liked in Hawaii. They have never been feared or opposed, as on the Pacific Coast, and the effect on their psychology is manifest. They appear more at ease, more natural and affable and less self-conscious. Japanese women did not discard the kimono on coming to Hawaii, as they did in going to California, and so add a picturesque and colorful note to the Hawaiian scene, though, of course, the young people of all races wear American clothes to school and so tend to wear them everywhere.

A few Koreans were brought to Hawaii about the same time as the Japanese and have formed a separate and distinct group in the population. They are largely Christian, being originally Methodist in their relationship, but, with a rather characteristic genius for division, they have also split off into independent churches of their own. They are keen and intelligent. Someone has described them as "The Irish of Asia," which fitted them before Ireland achieved her freedom, for the Koreans still suffer in some ways from the inevitable psychological reaction of being victims of a lost cause. The gulf between them and the Japanese is deep, but at least one observer says that it is not so deep as the gulf between divergent groups of Koreans! Another

[1] David L. Crawford, *Paradox in Hawaii.*

observer says, however, that "when the Koreans fight each other it is merely over the details of organization aimed against Japan"—and this is the truer picture.

In an attempt to balance the racial complexion of the Islands, the planters also brought in Portuguese, Spanish and Porto Ricans, but with these races we are not concerned in a book on Orientals. The Filipino came last. He was the only unskilled Oriental laborer left who could come in after the "Gentlemen's Agreement." He makes a better showing in Hawaii in some ways than on the mainland, probably because of more stable employment and because the plantation managers are expert in handling Filipino labor. Transient labor conditions in California result in high crime rates among any and all races.[1] Active religious work is carried on among them in the plantation villages by pastors of their own race, and the responsibility for their religious care is divided according to plantations and districts between the Methodist and the Hawaiian (Congregational) boards. There is also a Filipino Center in Honolulu, providing club facilities and a friendly Christian environment for them when they come to town. The Filipinos are, of course, predominantly rural, ninety per cent of them being on the sugar and pineapple plantations, which form the great industries of Hawaii.

[1] See article by Romanzo Adams, *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1916.

RACIAL COMPARISONS AND CONTRASTS

Now the interesting thing about these races is that they all get along together so well. There has never been a lynching or a race riot in the Islands. There is relatively little serious crime there and very few professional criminals. Professionals do not like a place where it is 2100 miles to the next town and no way of getting there except by the pitiless publicity of a steamer voyage.

The talk about "making Hawaii safe for white women"—which appeared in certain mainland papers at the time of the Massie affair—is arrant nonsense. Across the years there is no question that white women have been safer in Honolulu than in most American cities. Something, however, might be urged with much more cogency about "making Hawaii safe for brown women." From the old days of the beach-combers to the newer times of the large military garrison, it has been the brown-skinned woman who has been in danger from the white man, rather than the white woman from the brown man!

There are, of course, differences in the criminal records of the various races. A chart prepared by Professor Romanzo Adams,[1] of the sociology department in the university, on a basis of the number of commitments to prison in 1931 from all the courts, shows that the Japanese lead all the rest in good behavior. Their rating, on

[1] Romanzo Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii.*

a carefully computed scale, is only 21 per 100,000 males over 18 years of age. The Chinese come next with a rating of 56 (in Hawaii there are no criminal "tongs" in the mainland sense, and no tong wars); Americans and north Europeans rate 76; Filipinos 108; Koreans 243; and Porto Ricans 607. So, also, in juvenile delinquency the Japanese have by far the lowest rating, less than one-third of the American and northern European rate, one-half of the Chinese rate and one-fourth of the Korean. Is this because the Japanese family life is still strong in Hawaii and the children under better control than in the case of the Chinese, who have been in the Islands longer? And does the general tendency to disorganization among the Koreans reveal itself in their very high juvenile delinquency rate?

Other interesting differences between the races may be found in their respective birth rates and infant mortality. It may surprise people on the mainland to learn, for example, that the Japanese have by no means the highest birth rate in the Islands. Professor Adams has worked out a very careful tabulation, based on the number of women from fifteen to forty-four years of age in each race for 1932, and the birth rates per one thousand, on this equitable basis, prove to be:

American and North European	79	Spanish	185
Chinese	139	Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian	187
Portuguese	140	Porto Rican	218
Japanese	170	Filipino	312
Korean	180		

The infant mortality rates, which have greatly improved in recent years, are still so uneven that they may well make the Christian conscience of the community not only ask "Why?" but also, "What can be done about it?"

American and North European	36	Porto Rican	83
Korean	42	Caucasian-Hawaiian	102
Chinese	51	Asiatic-Hawaiian	131
Japanese	52	Filipino	190
Spanish	56	Hawaiian	206
Portuguese	69	All races	87

In the matter of illiteracy and inability to speak the English language there are also wide variations between the races. In 1930, 20 per cent of the total population over 20 years of age were illiterate, but only 3 per cent of those between 10 and 20 years of age. The Filipino illiteracy was high, 41 per cent for the older group and 22 per cent for the younger. The Japanese rate was 19.5 for the older group but only .5 for the younger, and the Chinese 22 per cent for the older group and just under 1 per cent for the younger. The American showing, of course, was best of all, .3 per cent and .2 per cent. Fifty-four per cent of the Filipinos were unable to speak English, 30 per cent of the Japanese, 22 per cent of the Chinese.

The interracial friendliness and good-will of Hawaii find expression in many ways. Street cars, restaurants, barber shops, hotels, schools, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.,

the university and other public institutions serve all races with equal courtesy. Women of all races meet in the "Outdoor Circle," which convenes at the governor's mansion, the former residence of Queen Liliuokalani, and plans for the planting of trees and beautification of the city. The Rotary Club draws no race lines, nor do the churches. Punahou School, a private institution of a thousand pupils from kindergarten up through high school, which prepares for all the mainland colleges, while it limits its Oriental enrolment to ten per cent, still wants that ten per cent. It is felt that contact with a selected group of especially capable Chinese and Japanese fellow students is a valuable and necessary part of the education of white youth in the Islands.

THE "ALOHA" SPIRIT

Of course all this does not mean that there are absolutely no racial discriminations. There are some, as will be noted presently. But it does mean that, as compared with any other place on earth, the races are living together more happily and decently in Hawaii, and finding that good rather than evil results ensue. Now, as to the discriminations which remain: certain people, newly arrived with mainland prejudices, discriminate until they have lived long enough in the Islands to catch the "aloha" spirit. There are a few limited areas in the city where Orientals ordinarily cannot rent or purchase homes. But, on the other hand, large and very desirable residential areas have no such restrictions.

Complaint is made that in business preference is given to, and the higher positions are reserved for, Americans and Scotch and that a white employee can go farther and have fewer hurdles to take than one with a brown skin. This is doubtless true, but, on the other hand, the Orientals are steadily making progress even here, and many white people are patronizing Oriental doctors, dentists, nurses and qualified practitioners in any walk in life with very small concern for racial lines.

Careful studies of racial intermarriage show that

while marriages occur most commonly between two members of the same racial group, there is a large and increasing amount of marriage across race lines. In the year ending June 30, 1932, 60 per cent of the Hawaiians and 45 per cent of the Portuguese, but less than 5 per cent of the Japanese, married outside their own ethnic group. Among the important things that influence marriage practice are inequality of sex ratios and differences in language, religion, family customs and traditions, economic and social status, and education. Differences in physical race traits such as color, features, etc., do not seem to play as important a rôle as do the cultural differences. It is significant that in Hawaii race mixture takes place typically through the marriage relationship, that it is sanctioned by law and public opinion. It means much for the social status of the mixed bloods, for the character of the opportunity they enjoy and for their character as citizens that such is the case.[1]

What is going on, however, is much more an amalgamation of thought and feeling than of blood. This means a lowering of the walls of racial jealousy and

[1] Adams, *op. cit.*

self-consciousness. More and more, the young people object to being classified according to their racial origins, as Chinese, Japanese or Portuguese, and insist that they are "just Americans." The writer once took part in an eighth-grade graduation at Lahaina, on the island of Maui. He was interested in the racial composition of the class which he judged to be two Norwegians, two Portuguese, two Chinese, four Hawaiians and six Japanese. Seeking confirmation for this estimate from the obviously Chinese boy beside him he was not a little thrilled to be told: "I really don't know! You had better ask the teacher." Later this boy made a valedictory speech closing with these words: "We, who are the members of this class, come from homes of alien parents, but we are not aliens—we are Americans! And the motto of our class is the motto of each one of us: 'To serve our country better.' "

At another level of the educational process President Crawford of the University of Hawaii reports that when, at the students' own request, he conducted an open forum on the Manchurian situation, trying to be as scrupulously fair and objective as possible, he found that, instead of dividing racially, a Japanese would sometimes be found arguing on the Chinese side and vice versa. This would hardly have been possible on the Pacific Coast, where the Chinese and Japanese are much more clannish and divided into separate camps.

In other words, in Hawaii the Chinese are a little less Chinese and the Japanese a little less Japanese,

and both are a great deal more generalized American in their consciousness. They share in all the school activities, play on athletic teams, serve as student officers in the University Cadets, edit papers and generally behave and feel like full-fledged Americans. The shock of their lives comes when they go to the mainland of the United States and find that they are at once classed as "Chinese" or "Japanese," regarded as "foreigners" and hardly recognized as Americans at all.

A very definite illustration of this different attitude is the case of Hung Wai Ching, a tall, athletic youth of Chinese ancestry, who graduated from the University of Hawaii with a splendid basket-ball record and as a commissioned officer in the Cadet Corps. He is now a Y.M.C.A. secretary in Honolulu. In preparation for religious work he entered the Chicago Theological Seminary. As practical field work is required of all students, he was sent to a metropolitan church which needed a young man to coach basket-ball and do boys' work. Although an experienced boys' worker, and basket-ball player, an American citizen and a cadet officer, he was rejected. It was not felt that the Chicago boys would accept a "Chinaman" as a club leader. Is it any wonder that some of these young people react bitterly to this attitude and, renouncing America, become intensely Chinese or Japanese on the rebound, and go to the Orient to live?

How Hawaii has come to so fine a spirit of inter-

racial friendliness and why typical mainland mind-sets and almost universal prejudices have not developed in this little spot in the Pacific, are questions the answer to which is profoundly significant and enlightening.

A BROWN SKIN NO HANDICAP

In explanation of this happy situation, it must always be remembered that the basic race, the Hawaiian, though brown of skin, was royal in rank. The Hawaiian has never been a slave. He gave the Islands their kings and queens and has no sense of racial inferiority because of the color of his skin. Consequently, when other brown-skinned peoples came, they found no predetermined social prejudice already established against them. They were received on their own merits and had to start with no advance handicap of racial antipathy. Moreover, the very number of races that have come to Hawaii has probably helped the situation. There is no deep gulf between just two antithetical and highly contrasted groups, but each race has found it well to meet all other races with the give and take of an open-minded tolerance.

The public schools also have been a constant unifying influence.

> Even before annexation the educational system . . . was virtually American in all respects, with all instruction in English and with American methods and techniques used in the classrooms. . . . While many teachers were brought in from the United States, much Island talent was used, also,

for a normal school had been established at just about the time the monarchy gave way to the republic.[1]

These schools have been maintained at a high level of efficiency, Ayres having ranked them twenty-third among the forty-eight states of the Union in 1921.[2] Due to the centralized control, rural schools are of exceptionally high quality—and Hawaii is a rural community.

Now, it is the glory of these schools that they serve all races equally—there is no division of pupils or financial support as between the races. Unlike some states of the Union, where white children have received in educational funds two or three times as much per capita as children of another race, the brown-skinned youngsters of Hawaii get equal treatment and the best schooling obtainable. This high ideal has not been maintained without real sacrifice and great determination, as President Crawford ably brings out,[3] and that it has been maintained is no mean tribute to the zeal for education which the early missionaries from New England built into the Island character, and to the continued fostering of that ideal by the schools themselves. It should be noted, also, that the teachers in the schools as well as the pupils, are an interracial group, fully 25 per cent of them being of Chinese, Japanese or Korean

[1] David L. Crawford, *Paradox in Hawaii.*
[2] Albert W. Palmer, *The Human Side of Hawaii.*
[3] Crawford, *op. cit.*

racial origin, besides many who are Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian.

Combined with the two influences just described, there has been a third and very fundamental one, namely, the economic adjustment between the various racial groups. If people clash on the economic level, they are apt to think up hateful prejudices to reinforce their economic struggle. On the other hand, if people are mutually helpful on the economic level, accommodation is more apt to occur in other relationships as well. Now, in Hawaii the races have welcomed one another as economic helpers instead of fearing one another like too many dogs after the same bone. So far there have been bones enough to go around and so Hawaii has not degenerated into a dog-fight.

The white race, for instance, was welcomed by the Hawaiian as bringing learning, arts and crafts, commerce and religion—for all of which there was great demand. When the Chinese came to work on the plantations they did not displace the Hawaiians, because the Hawaiian never wanted to work on a plantation anyway—he would rather be a sailor or a cowboy. When the Japanese arrived the plantations were expanding and no Chinese felt displaced or crowded out, and when the Filipinos came the Japanese were already leaving the plantations.

Thus the different races have lived side by side without seriously competing against each other. The white man has been the capitalist, the manager, the clerk, the

teacher, the "white collared" clan generally. The various races began as plantation laborers and have gradually made their way out into farming, mechanical trades and retail business. In doing this they displaced no white working men, for there were no white men in these positions and the brown men have kept them so well filled that few white men have come in. All this adjustment consists of what a scientist might call "symbiosis," where two groups live side by side but separately, and in a relationship of mutual accommodation that has made for racial peace in Hawaii. But will it continue? That is another story and will be taken up later.

MISSIONARY TRAIL MAKERS

Another potent influence for interracial good-will has been the missionary background and ideal. The first missionaries arrived in 1820 direct from Boston. They were sent out by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions which, at that time, represented the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed churches as well as the Congregationalists. Later the Islands were made the special responsibility of the Congregationalists. These missionaries found practically a religious vacuum, or at least a complete religious disorganization, for, only four months before their arrival, a religious revolution had occurred, the old wooden idols had been burned and the ancestral tabus and religious sanctions repudiated. This revolution was due

to the complete disorganization of the traditional religion in the face of the white man's influence and behavior (and whiskey), as sailors and explorers had brought to the Islands new and strange ideas and customs.

The missionaries, therefore, started right in at the beginning on a constructive program. They reduced the language to writing and taught the Hawaiians to read and write their own tongue. They taught the arts and crafts of Christian civilization along with Christian ethics and belief. One of them resigned from the mission to become the prime minister and help organize a government for the king which could deal effectively with foreign encroachments. Another resigned from the mission to become the first superintendent of public instruction. Hawaii had the first schools, the first printing press, the first newspaper west of the Mississippi. Its pioneer printing press was later sent to the Marcus Whitman mission in the Oregon territory!

A CHRISTIAN CORNER-STONE

At the end of twenty years a great transformation had been effected. In 1840 the Hawaiian people were presented with a complete translation of the Bible and have been distinctly a Bible-loving, Bible-thinking people ever since. The corner-stone was laid that year of the great stone church, Kawaiahao, in Honolulu, built on New England colonial lines out of coral cut from the living reef a mile away. And that same eventful

year the king issued a decree promising a Constitution and establishing private ownership of land. What had taken place was a complete religious, social and political revolution, accomplished by educational methods in twenty years, without the shedding of a drop of blood or a single act of violence. It is one of the great achievements in missionary history.

The passing tourist in Honolulu today may hear innuendoes and open accusations that the missionaries stole the native lands and became rich at their expense. Such statements are either slander or merely repeated misinformation. The missionaries, with almost no exception, lived hard and heroic lives and served the welfare of Hawaii with high Christian devotion. Eighteen per cent of their children also took up religious vocations and lived lives of poverty and self-denial—and that is a high percentage.

No one supposes, however, that the calling of a missionary is necessarily an hereditary vocation. We have no such caste system in America. And so some of their intelligent and energetic children, looking about for an occupation, pioneered the way for the industrial development of the Islands. And some of them, not all, achieved success and wealth. If there are criticisms to be made, they are the general criticisms which may be leveled against any capitalistic system, whether in New York, New Orleans or Alaska.

According to the standards of their age, the business

men and industrial leaders of Hawaii have probably been more honest, more humane, and more concerned for the public welfare than any other capitalistic group in the world. There has been little or no watered stock in Hawaii, and the welfare work on the plantations and the maintenance of the public school system have been a credit to the better instincts and American ideals of these industrial leaders—not all of whom are descendants of missionaries. Gradually, through the marriage of missionary descendants to the other white people, it is coming about that more and more of the business community are of missionary descent, on one side at least. One man long prominent in business is quoted as saying: "I am a cross between a missionary and a pirate!"

Meanwhile, it must be remembered that the labors and teaching of the missionaries implanted the Christian religion firmly in the Islands and established permanently, in the accepted pattern of ideals, the worth of human personality and the equal dignity and value before God of all races and individuals. This has helped mightily to keep the social conscience of Hawaii on a high level, and has found practical expression in public and missionary schools, kindergartens, settlements, Sunday schools, hospitals and other welfare agencies. Will this noble religious heritage and tradition continue to be equally influential in the future? And will it be able to meet with understanding and

spiritual power the new and critical problems with which Hawaii must deal in the not distant future? That is the ultimate and basic problem confronting Hawaiian Christianity today.

In the immediate foreground, however, there are also some fairly definite and pressing problems of current missionary strategy. In 1860 the missionary task in Hawaii seemed well-nigh accomplished. A larger proportion of the population were members of churches than in Massachusetts itself. But the coming in of thousands of Orientals has changed all that, and today probably half of the population of Hawaii is non-Christian. And those who are non-Christian are unlikely to have a religious life of any kind.

To be sure, there are many Buddhist temples and the Buddhists of half a dozen sects or more are working as effectively as they can, sometimes with remarkable skill in adapting themselves to American ways and ideas. But, on the whole, theirs is a waning cause. The stars in their courses fight against any non-Christian religion with children who have been educated in American public schools for, secular though they may seem and even try to be, the culture they communicate is inevitably penetrated through and through with Christian ideals and ways of thought. The result is that those who pass through the public schools have a Christian vocabulary and find it easier to understand and to respond to Christianity than to Buddhism.

BUDDHA, CONFUCIUS, AND THE RISING GENERATION

The work of the Buddhists is probably beneficial in so far as it provides a spiritual comfort and background for the great masses of the older generation of Japanese, and even as it may serve that more backward and less Americanized portion of the Japanese youth which can understand it and respond to it. But Buddhism cannot minister to an increasing number of the rising generation—certainly not to the type revealed by this experience quoted by Professor William C. Smith in his *Second Generation Oriental in America*:

> Last summer I attended a Buddhist ceremony back home. I had no notion of going, but just to satisfy my dear mother, I went. My two younger sisters, both in high school, were there with me. When the ceremony began I could hardly keep myself from laughing, since the priest's chanting sounded so funny. I saw my two sisters giggling with their handkerchiefs against their mouths to avoid any distraction. I couldn't stand it. This shows how much we American-born Japanese are losing the customs of our forefathers.

We may deplore the attitude revealed in this incident, but that does not alter its significance as an insight into second generation psychology. On the other hand the better educated and more thoughtful young Orientals tend to see the good in both religions and to resent narrow and intolerant attitudes. This may be, in part, a deposit from the generally tolerant spirit of Buddhism. Some Buddhist parents, indeed, for exam-

ple, quite frequently urge their children to attend Christian Sunday schools. On Kauai, for example, a Japanese Buddhist is known to have advised his son to become a Christian and had him say grace at table after he was baptized.

With the young Chinese the influence of the ancestral religion is practically nil. The religion of the average Chinese immigrant seems to be, on its lower level, a superstitious fear of evil spirits, combined with a ritualistic burning of incense and seeking of good luck omens; while on the higher level it consists of ancestor worship and a diffused practical wisdom sublimated from the teachings of Confucius and other Chinese sages. Whatever values the joss-house may have for the Chinese-born, it means almost nothing of religious worth or inspiration to the American-born Chinese.

The Filipino is nominally a Roman Catholic, but his allegiance to that church sits rather lightly upon him, due to certain historical alienations in his homeland, where a large block of the population have seceded from Rome altogether. The Roman church is doing more for the Filipinos than formerly, however, and will probably exert an increasing influence in Hawaiian Filipino life.

The immediate missionary task of Hawaii is, therefore, a very hopeful and challenging one, for it is primarily a work which needs to be done for young people who are open and ready for the Christian approach. As Mr. Zumoto, a distinguished Japanese journalist and

scholar, said after a tour of Hawaii: "The young Japanese growing up here are not going to be Buddhists, that is certain. Whether or not they are to be Christians, depends upon the Christian forces of the Islands." The task of Christianity in Hawaii, then, is not the opposing or overcoming of Buddhism. The population in all probability is being weaned away from its ancestral religion quite as rapidly as is safe or wise.

THE PRESENT TASK OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

The task of the Christian churches is, rather, to complete the work of the public schools by making definite and tangible the religious ideas and Christian standards of life and conduct through instruction in the Bible and Christian ethics, participation in worship experiences and opportunity for a definite commitment of personal loyalty to Jesus Christ. The public schools have won out in facing their staggering task of secular education with a host of children from alien homes. Will the churches and missionary agencies fail where the schools have so splendidly opened the way? That is the tremendous challenge of Hawaii as a missionary field today. To meet this challenge the denominations at work in the Islands, Congregational, Episcopal and Methodist, to name them in the order of their arrival, ought to be strongly reinforced by their mainland missionary agencies. Now is the golden opportunity for the church in Hawaii. In another generation it may be too late.

There is much of charm and encouragement in the

life stories of these young people who are growing up in the Islands, particularly those who have been fortunate enough to come under Christian influences. Take the story of Ernest Fujinaga for example. A few years ago, at the commencement of McKinley High School, a medal was given for public speaking. The winner was this Japanese boy. His address had been on "My Ideal of Character" and his theme had been an exaltation of Jesus as his ideal. This in a public high school! Graduating from Stanford University later, and then from Garrett Biblical Institute, he is now a Methodist minister in Hawaii.

Or take the story of George Sakamaki. Born on Olaa plantation on the Island of Hawaii, of a well-known Christian family—his father was a Japanese merchant —George graduated from the Hilo High School and then came to the University of Hawaii at Honolulu. When George was a senior, President Coleman of Reed College in Portland, Oregon, came through with a group of students, two from each Pacific Coast college, on a friendship tour bound for Japan. The two students selected to represent the University of Hawaii on this trip were Adna Clark, a white boy, son of Colonel Clark, the commandant of cadets, and George Sakamaki. Once in Japan, George reacted to the country very much as any American boy would. One day President Coleman said: "Tonight, George, it will be your turn to speak on American-Japanese friendship." "Oh, no, Dr. Coleman, I couldn't do that!" "Why not?"

"Well, you see, my education has all been in English, and I have no Japanese vocabulary in these high themes. Of course I know kitchen Japanese, but not the kind to use in making a speech of this sort." There was a pause, and then George added: "I'll tell you what I'll do. You let me speak in English and I'll talk to them." And he did. And the Japanese interpreter proving unequal to the task, an American missionary had to be called in to translate to a Japanese audience what this young American of Japanese ancestry was saying to them! And yet some people ask: "Are the Japanese ever really assimilated?"

Yet another story, that of Mung Yee Yap. A student in Punahou School came home one day in Honolulu much excited: "Daddy, what do you think, we had the Damon Oratorical Contest today and I got honorable mention!" "Who won?" "Well, the boy's prize went to Mung Yee Yap." "Who is he?" "Oh, he is a Chinese boy." "But, Helen, do you mean to tell me that in a school which is ninety per cent white and only ten per cent Oriental, you let a Chinese boy run off with the prize in public speaking?" "But, daddy, we couldn't help it—you see he gave a Negro dialect selection!"

A few years later Punahou School was selecting its representative to compete in the inter-island oratorical contest. There were eight white contestants—and Mung Yee Yap. The judges, without conferring, unanimously chose Mung Yee. A few years more pass by, and a Hawaiian voice over a Chicago telephone announces

that Mung Yee is passing through the city. It develops that he has been to the University of Hawaii, has traveled in China from Canton to Mukden, interviewing many of China's leading personalities, and has been promised a job in helping to solve the problems of flood control if he will go to America and study civil engineering at Cornell. The months roll by, and another Chicago call from Mung Yee, westward bound this time. He has finished the engineering course and, more than that, is carrying home a gold medal, the most coveted prize in public speaking at Cornell.

CHRISTIAN TEACHING AND ENVIRONMENT

Much good work is being done in providing Christian teaching and environment for these capable and attractive young people. Honolulu has probably more and better Y.M.C.A. work than any other city of its size in the world; the Y.W.C.A. also has been ably led, has a beautiful central building, an "International Institute" and a boarding home. It is carrying on a well-planned and popular work for young women of all races, and has a whole new generation of "girl reserves" growing up.

The Hawaiian Board of Missions has a beautiful headquarters building, with a religious bookstore and Bible training school in connection and carries on work for Hawaiians, Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos throughout the entire territory. It is a Congregational body and is the local and independent successor to the

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which began the missionary work in the Islands in 1820. It helps weak churches and Sunday schools for all races, operates settlements, provides religious literature in several languages, and carries on daily vacation Bible schools. The Episcopal church has a strong Hawaiian congregation meeting in the Cathedral and also Chinese and Japanese churches throughout the Islands. It also maintains schools and homes and other social and religious work. The Methodist board carries on a large missionary program among the Japanese, Korean and Filipinos, with one predominantly white church in Honolulu.

A school of religion is being developed on an interdenominational basis adjacent to the campus of the University of Hawaii, with courses in Bible, Christian ethics, religious education and other subjects. A very interesting adventure in inter-racial friendship is being carried on by "The Church of the Crossroads." Hawaii is often spoken of as "the crossroads of the Pacific," and this is a young people's church made up of the youth of all the different races in the Islands. The Roman Catholic work is predominantly Portuguese, with of course a considerable number of white and Hawaiian adherents, and ministers to the Porto Rican and Spanish communities and rather less effectively to the Filipinos.

Boy and Girl Scout organizations operate throughout the Islands. Palama Settlement is a center of social

and health service. The Associated Charities is scientific and efficient without lacking in human understanding. Every district of the Islands has its government physician and visiting nurse. Indeed Hawaii generally, and Honolulu particularly, is a veritable net-work of social and religious institutions. Probably more committee meetings are held here, per capita, than anywhere else on earth. What more convincing proof could there be of its completely American character?

TWO GRAVE DANGERS

But what of the future? Will this balanced and happy interracial situation continue? What is going to happen to these thousands of brown-skinned American citizens that are growing up? In answer, it must be admitted by anyone who looks facts in the face that Hawaii is menaced by two grave dangers, the military and the social-economic.

The military danger is due to the fact that Oahu, the island on which Honolulu is located, is the western outpost for the defense of the Pacific Coast, is heavily fortified and has a large garrison of soldiers at Schofield Barracks and elsewhere, and a great naval station at Pearl Harbor. This brings into Island life a large, closely integrated group of professional soldiers who are entirely ignorant of the traditions and human relations of the Islands, and, in the vast majority of cases, quite impervious to and even irritated by the interracial ideals for which Hawaii stands.

The fact that they are constantly shifting means that they do not stay long enough to absorb the Island point of view. Moreover, the fact that thousands of them are young unmarried men, far from home and in the midst of a predominantly brown-skinned population, whom all too many of them regard as "niggers," immensely complicates the social problems of a city of nearly a hundred and fifty thousand, such as Honolulu. One of the evil things about the military system everywhere is that, while officers may marry and have homes, the enlisted men ordinarily cannot. And, as Kipling once observed, "single men in barracks don't grow into plaster saints." Here, it may be observed, is another religious responsibility of Honolulu, in meeting which the strong well-equipped Army and Navy Y.M.C.A. seeks to cooperate with the army chaplains.

SELF-GOVERNMENT *vs.* MILITARY GOVERNMENT

Now it is easy to see that in the event of war in the Pacific (which God forbid!), the situation in the Islands might become very tense indeed. Martial law would be declared, all civil rights suspended, and large sections of the civil population placed under constant suspicion and restraint. The constructive social and religious work of decades might be undone. Against this danger Hawaii itself is largely helpless. It must depend on the powerful Christian public sentiment in America to stand for peace, to prevent armament races which

so surely lead to war, and to promote that type of fair-minded far-sighted international policy which will promote good understanding in the Pacific.

But, even though the remote possibility of war never eventuates, the military mind naturally and inevitably lives continually in the thought of it, and looks with grave question on Hawaii with its Oriental complexion and mounting Japanese vote. The Islands fear, probably with reason, that military leaders would welcome a change from the present status of a self-governing territory to that of an insular possession, governed by a commission appointed from Washington on which the army and navy would be influential and, possibly, dominant.

If this should happen, it would place the Islands under a control that would be definitely antagonistic to the Hawaiian customs and ideals relating to race; and this, not on account of any expected personal deficiencies of character on the part of the military rulers, but merely because they would represent what such men, as Americans and military men, normally must represent. It should be remembered in this connection that Hawaii was never conquered nor purchased, but joined the United States on its own motion while it was an independent self-governing republic. Only the gravest danger could justify the abrogation of its self-governing territorial status or reconcile its people to so humiliating an action.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEM

The socio-economic peril grows out of the disturbance to the present economic balance, which seems inevitable as the hosts of Oriental children now in school come to adult life and face the problem of earning a living. Whether for good or ill, the schools and indeed the whole American spirit of the Islands have, in the past, educated them away from a desire to work in gangs as plantation laborers and encouraged them to aspire to "white-collar" jobs, of which there are not enough to go around. The situation is partly the fault of the schools, which until recently have given the standard literary, rather than the vocational, type of education, and partly the fault of the plantations which, because they have always been able to import fresh and tractable unskilled labor, have not troubled to develop the type of organization or the sort of plantation life which would hold and appeal to the native-born Americanized Oriental in the Islands.

This problem is clearly stated in frank but friendly fashion in the closing chapters of President Crawford's authoritative book, *Paradox in Hawaii.* Hawaii needs labor, but it is growing more than it can use. It is producing a large crop of vigorous young people for whom there are no jobs. And yet, if Philippine independence becomes a reality, Hawaii will be shut off from its last source of unskilled Oriental labor. If the young people

growing up in Hawaii can't be taken into the basic industrial life, what will happen?

EVENTUALITIES

Half a dozen things might happen in this situation:

(1) The young people might be starved back to the same routine plantation labor their fathers have done. To one who knows them, this does not seem likely.

(2) The rising generation might stage a revolution. This is hardly possible so long as the strong United States garrison is present as a guarantee of law and order.

(3) The younger generation of Orientals might get political control and effect revolutionary changes by legislative action. The census of 1930 showed Hawaiian-born Japanese of voting age to the number of 13,002, and the Chinese about 6,998, although relatively few of these were registered. These numbers will increase rapidly, though, according to careful studies by Professor Adams, the Japanese population will probably never exceed a third of the total. The answer here is that the Organic Act, which is the basis of government, cannot be changed except by the United States Congress. Political methods could do much, but could not go faster in a revolutionary direction than mainland opinion and Congressional action would permit.

(4) The mainlands of both Asia and America might prove a safety valve by draining off the more able and adventurous of these young people and thus reduce the pressure in Hawaii. This is happening all the time and

is bound to happen more. But is the safety valve big enough?

(5) The schools might reorganize their curriculum and methods so as to give their pupils a genuine interest in agriculture and lure them back into the raising of pineapples and sugar cane, as President Crawford very wisely proposes. If this is safeguarded, so that education does not become merely a conditioning for docile labor, there is hope in this direction. But, unless it is so safeguarded, it will be rejected by the children and their parents.

(6) The changed educational emphasis can be effective only as it is accompanied by a progressive evolution in spirit and conditions of plantation life, so that those engaged in the sugar and pineapple industries will have a sense of personal interest instead of feeling that they are simply members of a hired gang, "human mules" as a planter once phrased it. This may involve breaking up the plantations into smaller holdings, organized around a central sugar mill or pineapple cannery; or the same result may be achieved by a system of leases or sub-contracts by which personal interest may be appealed to while at the same time the present unified and highly efficient scientific and experimental service is preserved. Homes and village life also must be improved so that the plantation worker, instead of being looked down upon as the mud-sill in the economic structure, may come to feel that his life has advantages superior to those of the "white-collar" worker in town.

It is encouraging to learn from well-informed students of Hawaiian conditions that this is just what is happening. In *The Boys of Hawaii* in 1927 Professor Romanzo Adams suggested that *one* plantation be set apart to try the experiment of so managing relations with labor that the laborers would want to have their sons succeed them. "Today," he jubilantly reports, "instead of one they are *all* doing it—and with as much success as could be expected in so short a period. For final judgment some time is needed."

Any such adjustment as this calls for creative social imagination, deep human sympathy, and capacity to subordinate inherited social patterns and class prejudices to the common good. Will the present dominant class be able to make such an adjustment? Can they do so unless reinforced and inspired by a socially motivated Christian idealism? Have the churches sufficient grasp upon the social and industrial implications of the Christian gospel to function as a living creative force in the Islands? Have they the requisite courage, the patient teaching skill, and heroic will to do so? These, in the writer's opinion at least, are the basic religious questions which confront the Christian leaders of Hawaii. There is much in the noble story of the past to inspire hope. Christianity is still very vital in Hawaii. The fervor of the early missionaries lives on. But there is a day of difficulty and of testing ahead which will need rare tact, wisdom and persuasive power to forestall, absorb and make unnecessary a revolution.

V

THE RIDDLE OF THE FUTURE

LET us now turn from the Hawaiian interlude to our main theme of interest, the Oriental in the continental United States. What is going to happen here?

First of all, let us see what is happening. How are the American-born Chinese and Japanese making out? What are their handicaps and difficulties? How are they different from their parents, and why? What adjustments must they make to life that white young people ordinarily do not have to make?

The difficulties confronting these young people fall into three fairly distinct but not unrelated groups: psychological, economic and social. Let us begin with the psychological, with the way they feel inside. Like all children of foreign immigrants they have a certain inner tension due to the pull of two different cultures, that of their parents and that of the community in which they live.

PSYCHOLOGICAL HANDICAPS

St. Paul felt two natures struggling within him, and probably his sense of inner struggle was accentuated by the fact that all his life long he was consciously

or unconsciously having to make adjustments between his Hebrew heritage and his Gentile environment. It is exactly that way with these young Orientals. One Japanese family, when asked about their food habits, replied: "We have American food twice a day, Japanese food once a day and, on festival occasions, we like a Chinese dinner!" There is a slogan somewhere that bears on this: "Tell me what you eat and I'll tell you what you are!"

Some of these young people have made the adjustment by coming completely over to the American side. Except for the masks of Oriental features they wear, you would never dream they were anything but American. Take Pardee Low, for example, a young university student named after a former governor of California, who is now collaborating with a professor of Stanford University in making a sociological study of San Francisco's Chinatown. A conference with him is exactly like one with any other able, well-informed American graduate student. "Try and get it across to the American churches," he said to the writer of this book, "that the Chinese young people are psychologically American."

It would be a revelation to the average American to meet Mrs. Stanley Chin of Portland, Oregon. She has remarkable social grace, belongs to the best clubs and mingles in the highest circles of the city. She dresses with faultless taste and meets people with a personal charm which any American woman might envy. A

graduate of the Vancouver, Washington, high school herself, she is deeply interested in young people and their struggle for an education. She is leader of the Chinese Girl Reserves club in the Y.W.C.A. and also works in the Institute of International Relations. And every Sunday, though she might attend the finest church in the city, she takes her children and teaches Sunday school at the humble little Chinese Presbyterian church which meets upstairs in two dingy back-rooms in Chinatown. There is character for you, and culture and Christian loyalty.

There are other young people, however, who have greater difficulty in making an adjustment between the two cultures to which they are related. Some of them might express themselves through this Japanese girl:

> We belong to two groups, the Japanese and the American. In ancestry and in physical appearance we are Japanese, while in birth, in education, in ideals, in ways of thinking we are American. Nevertheless, the older Japanese will not accept us into their group because, as they see us, we are too independent, too pert, and too self-confident, and the Americans bar us from their group because we retain the yellow skin and flat nose of the Oriental. Thus we stand on the borderline that separates Orient from Occident. Though on either side of us flow the streams of two great civilizations—the old Japanese culture with its formal traditions and customs, and the newer American civilization with its freedom and individualism—the chance to perceive and to imbibe the best things from each has been withheld from us.[1]

[1] Quoted by William C. Smith, *The Second Generation Oriental in America.*

Clearly the girl who can write English like that has not failed to get a good deal out of Western culture. Is it not more probable that her difficulty is psychological, and that she is merely suffering from a quite unnecessary inferiority complex?

Sometimes, as with all immigrant groups, this problem of adjustment causes or grows out of strained relations with parents. One California girl says:

> During my early high school years, there were many clashes of will between my father and me—he was old Japan and I was the new. To me it is interesting to note that up to this period I have never thought of myself as Japanese, but always as American; I knew more of Europe and America than of Japan; I was more interested in studying about India and China than Japan.[1]

That this tension with parents may go to very undesirable lengths is illustrated by the following frank story of another California girl:

> I was born here in Chinatown and attended the city schools and graduated from the high school and have had two years in the State College. When I was a little girl I grew to dislike the conventionality and rules of Chinese life. The superstitions and customs seemed ridiculous to me. My parents have wanted me to grow up a good Chinese girl, but I am an American and I can't accept all the old Chinese ways and ideas. A few years ago, when my mother took me to worship at the shrine of my ancestor and offer a plate of food, I decided it was time to stop this foolish custom. So I got up and slammed down the rice in front of the idol and

[1] Quoted in Smith, *op. cit.*

said, "So long, old top, I don't believe in you anyway." My mother didn't like it a little bit.[1]

As St. Paul found in Christianity the reconciling word which broke down the middle wall of partition and fused Hebrew heritage and Gentile environment into a new and living unity—a new man in Christ Jesus —so it is today. Religion can be the bridge of better understanding both between races and cultures and also between the generations. A very touching illustration of this came out in conversation with a Japanese girl who is a member of the Japanese Methodist Church in Florin, California. "Over sixty new members were baptized in our church between Christmas and Easter this year, so that we now number about two hundred. This revival was followed by cottage meetings held in the various Japanese homes. Here the young people tried to speak of their religious experience and pray in Japanese, and this has had the effect of drawing them and their parents much closer together."

ECONOMIC BARRIERS

The second problem which Oriental youth in America are facing today is an economic one. Even before the depression made the finding of a job hard for anybody, it was permanently hard for an Oriental. He knew in advance, or else soon learned, how many doors were closed. The jobs which are open to him are, first of all, those strictly within the Oriental communities. He may

[1] Quoted in Smith, *op. cit.*

be a professional or business man serving his own people, or he may open a store selling Oriental goods and curios to white people.

Then there are certain marginal positions where an Oriental works for an American concern in connection with its Oriental trade, especially where knowledge of the Chinese or Japanese language is essential. Chinese or Japanese girls may also obtain positions as "atmosphere" in a department store, standing around in Oriental costume to create an artistic impression on eastern tourists. Then there are the canneries in Alaska which import gangs of young Orientals in the summer. The older Chinese still run some laundries, though Jewish competition in the East and steam laundries everywhere are driving them out of business. But these older Chinese laundrymen are gradually dying off. There is a considerable opening in agriculture, and, as one youth remarked, "even if your college education gets you nowhere, you can still start a fruit-stand!" Of course Orientals are still acceptable as cooks and servants, and as day workers doing house-cleaning.

The Oriental who succeeds in penetrating beyond this definitely limited area is the exception and not the rule. He may know that he is as well or better prepared than his white schoolmate to handle many a job, but the white boy will get the job, not because he is more competent but because he does not have to overcome the handicap of Oriental appearances. As one Chinese has said:

There is no color line drawn against Oriental students attending school, but there is a line drawn against employing our students after they have graduated from the institutions of higher learning. Business firms on the Pacific Coast offer us no opportunity of practising what we learn at the school. . . . Recently two friends of mine went to a trans-Pacific steamship line to apply for jobs as common laborers on the boat. The superintendent at first told them that it was not the policy of the firm to hire people other than Americans. The boys told him they were American-born and did not come into the excluded list. They talked with the superintendent a while and finally he said, "I am sorry, boys, but I cannot employ you people." If the American people were our friends they would surely give us an opportunity to learn our profession outside of the university laboratories.[1]

Mrs. Stanley Chin, whose interest in young people has already been noted, tells of a Chinese boy who came to Portland to study dentistry. He tried for twelve days before he could find a place to board and he also had a very cool reception at the dental college. He was resentful at first, but Mrs. Chin pleaded with him to "put his real Christian spirit to the test," and in the end he won out with his teachers and fellow students. When he found that he could get no practice patients among the people who came to the clinic, he went out and got his own from the Chinese community. Later American patients began to accept him. Soon he had more practice patients than he could care for and had the joy of turning over several to an American

[1] Quoted in Smith, *op. cit.*

student who asked for them. He is now Dr. Ning Watt, a practising dentist in Shanghai.

Wherever we ask the question: "What are the outstanding difficulties of the second generation Oriental on the Pacific Coast?" the universal answer is, "Lack of equal economic opportunity, so many callings are closed to us, so many roads are blocked." A study made in 1930 of Japanese students who had graduated from the University of Washington showed that only thirty-nine out of eighty-seven men, or forty-four per cent, were employed at work in any way correlated with their major interests in college.

This economic discrimination is even harder, in some ways, on women than on men: the teaching vocation which is open to women in Hawaii is absolutely closed to them on this continent. Nursing is another profession to which women aspire. Five years ago a Japanese girl who wanted to train as a nurse was refused by every hospital in a certain Pacific Coast city, several of them being Christian institutions. She went to a neighboring town and succeeded in entering a hospital where, in due time, she graduated.

Returning to her own city she was still not allowed to practise in any of the hospitals. Then came the Japanese naval training squadron. A cadet who was taken ill was brought to one of the hospitals. But no nurse could understand him or tell him what to do. Then somebody remembered that the city did contain one Japanese girl who was a trained nurse. She was sent

for and placed in charge of the patient. Once inside the hospital, she made friends with everybody. That hospital removed the barrier against her. She had won out after four years of private nursing.

Let no one think that the young Orientals go into a sulk and give up trying because of the economic barriers they face. They are too young and energetic for that. And here and there they make good in a way that lowers the barriers and commands attention. Take the "National Dollar Stores" for instance. They are a Chinese chain, selling to the white trade and employing white girls exclusively as salespeople, but with Chinese management. The stores are clean, light, and well located. The merchandise is low in price and displayed according to the most approved methods of the modern "5 and 10." Behind the stores are the factories where they make the dresses, aprons, overalls and many other things they sell. Here they give employment to hundreds of their own race. True, there is criticism as to wages and hours, but let us hope that the better codes and standards which seem to be growing up in industry will take care of this. Meantime, here is one Oriental enterprise at all events, which has broken through the economic barrier.

One of the most picturesque and interesting institutions on the Pacific Coast is the Chinatown branch of the Bank of America in San Francisco. It is not only entirely run by Chinese, but by Chinese young women. Miss Dorothy Gee is the manager, passes on all loans

and is the responsible head. Miss Annie Quan is the cashier and there are several girl tellers. One tall light-haired American youth was punching an adding machine in the background the day the writer visited the bank; aside from him, all were Orientals.

It seems that many years ago the main bank over on Market Street hired Charles Gee to handle its Chinese accounts. He built up the business to such an extent that in 1915 the bank hired his fifteen-year-old daughter, Dorothy, to help him. She started at thirty dollars a month, but in three months was raised to one hundred dollars. In those three months they took in three hundred thousand dollars in deposits, which, by the end of the year, had risen to a million dollars. In 1923 it was decided to open up a branch in Chinatown. At first there was a white man as manager, but six years ago Miss Gee succeeded him, and in 1928 the bank moved into its present elegant and artistic quarters.

ANTI-SOCIAL OCCUPATIONS

There are phases of this economic problem, however, which are less hopeful and constructive. One is its tendency to turn the Oriental community in upon itself by building a wall around it. Discovering that they are more likely to get positions with an American concern if they can speak Chinese or Japanese, the young people develop an attitude of support and approval towards the language schools which otherwise would soon die

for lack of patronage. Among the Chinese, in particular, the closed doors in American life have had the effect of increasing their characteristic clannishness and also of stimulating their interest in China as a possible land of opportunity.

This, again, means they must learn Chinese and strive to retain their Chinese ways. In Portland, for example, three Chinese girls have studied aviation and returned to China as licensed pilots. Mrs. Chin thinks that "China presents the best hope for trained young people today." Pardee Low, on the other hand, says that "the young Chinese who go back to China are often unhappy. The Chinese born in China, but educated abroad, come from the best families and have influence on their side, whereas the American-born Chinese come generally of a peasant ancestry and have no such backing. They are therefore likely to be disappointed in their hopes when they go to China." The fact remains, however, that, whether wisely or not, Chinese youth on the Pacific Coast, rebuffed by the economic barriers in America, are in many cases tending to become more and more Asiatic-minded.

Yet more sinister is the way their economic limitations tend to drive the Chinese into parasitic and underworld employments such as gambling, bootlegging and narcotics. "Why don't you come to church any more, Jimmy?" asked a mission worker of a promising young man she had seen grow up in Sunday school. "Oh, Mrs. H—, you know the business I am in. I've tried my

best to get something else to do. I'm sorry to do this but I have to." Professor Reynolds of Stanford, however, makes this interesting and encouraging comment:

> The percentage of the total Chinese population in parasitic occupations is diminishing in size and the reason for entering such occupations is changing. The old Chinese criminal tong members were in these underworld activities because they wished to be. They had no standards, they were simply bad Chinese. Now the younger generation, with more or less conscious American standards, are being forced into such callings by economic necessity—and they are correspondingly less happy in them.

For some reason the Japanese have given way much less to the temptation to take up anti-social occupations. Their tendency, in face of the economic barrier, has been to scatter and seek freer fields elsewhere. Hence you have, in a town like Rochester, Minnesota, a very capable Japanese running two restaurants and serving white people without question or prejudice. He has a Norwegian wife and a son in college. He has found a way to escape the economic barrier.

IN "FAIRPORT" AND "MIDDLEVILLE"

And now we come to the problem of social relationships. This is the real heart of the problem. Indeed, the question inevitably arises as to whether the economic barrier is really economic or social. The interaction between the economic and social phases of the Oriental problem is so intimate as to make them seem

to be one and the same thing. If the younger Orientals had equal social standing with white young people, would they not turn out to be equally acceptable in every other line of activity? Possibly the economic restrictions are only an inevitable result of these social barriers and a means for maintaining them.

Difficulties in racial adjustments seem to exist almost exactly in proportion to the relative number of Orientals in a community. Here is the situation, for instance, in a Pacific Coast rural community, which we shall call "Fairport," where the Japanese proportion of the population is high. The following picture is authentic and based on personal investigation by the writer. There are perhaps one thousand Japanese in Fairport, all engaged in agriculture. Possibly one-third of them have contact with the Japanese Methodist church, which has a Sunday school of one hundred fifty members. There is also a Buddhist Sunday school of about the same size, though the Buddhist church is twice as large. The Methodist church is, however, more active.

A very unusual feature is the presence of two public schools, the one for Japanese considerably larger than the one for white children. Both have attractive buildings and are well taught. There is no high school, but the community shares in a union high school located at the neighboring town which we shall call "Middleville." Fairport itself is a little cluster of schools, churches, and two or three stores and garages. At least one store is Japanese, but has many American patrons.

The garages are run by Americans, but one hires a Japanese mechanic. American and Japanese fruit farms appear to be equally prosperous and community human relations seem natural and friendly.

A conservative old rancher who has lived in the place for decades says: "The Japanese have done the community no harm. In fact they have developed a good deal of formerly unused land. Their honesty averages up to that of the white ranchers. They are loyal to America, display the colors and celebrate the Fourth of July." (This interview occurred on the Fourth of July, when almost all the Japanese were away on a picnic.) And then he added, with a note of caution, "But you'd better not quote me by name."

Racial cleavages are deep and the situation is certainly unpromising at the high school in Middleville. There are about three hundred fifty in the school; the enrollment is not quite half Japanese. In the class of 1933, there were sixteen Japanese out of a total of fifty. The freshman and sophomore classes sometimes elect a Japanese as secretary or treasurer; but in the upper classes race distinctions begin to be emphasized. Japanese simply are not elected to school offices and, if nominated, decline. This is not because of any lack of ability. Each year the principal used to announce the name of the best student of the year. For four years a Japanese led. Now the principal has ceased making this announcement, and it is still a Japanese who leads. "The teachers are very fair and try to help," was the

opinion of an Oriental student. In athletics, too, there is fair play. Japanese are welcomed on the teams and the coach stands unequivocally for true sportsmanship in the athletic life of the school. Last year there was a double award of "honor blankets" for the finest athletic record of the year; one went to a white boy and one to a Japanese. This year there was only one award and that went to a Japanese. He was received in the school assembly on the occasion with genuine applause.

The coach, however, has his problems. One white boy left school rather than apologize to a Japanese boy whom he had called an obscene name on the athletic field in a quarrel over a baseball game. An influential citizen told the coach he would rather see the team lose without Japanese members than win with them. "But what would you do?" said the coach. "The Japanese boys turn out faithfully for practice." "Nevertheless," was the reply, "if a white boy appeared the night of the game I'd put him on." The same citizen withdrew his children from a local church until a Japanese family which the pastor had admitted was transferred to another congregation.

The anti-social effect of this atmosphere of racial antagonism on the youth of Middleville is not surprising. There is a more or less secret club in the school—the "Hold-'em-up Club" with a safety pin as its badge. This is a type of adolescent humor that is harmless enough, but the sinister thing is that, taking color from certain elements in the community, these boys make it

a point to "beat up a Jap" once a month. One who is in a position to know states that "they have little regard for the property rights of a Japanese—they frequently steal strawberries, all packed and crated, off a Japanese truck."

This condition is also due in part to the fact that there is no constructive outlet in Middleville for the surplus steam of these adolescent gangsters. "Why doesn't the church restrain them?" The answer is: "The church has very little hold on the white youth of this community." In a class of forty-five only three went to church. "We were very surprised to notice that," said a Japanese girl, herself a Christian. On the other hand, about ninety per cent of the Japanese children are connected with some church, either Christian or Buddhist. The pastor of the Christian church in Middleville is personally friendly to the Japanese, but the town public opinion is largely governed by the non-church element.

THE STORY OF MARTHA MATSU

A few years ago the Matsu family moved into Fairport. The father had come to America as a young man of twenty, and lived for a while in San Francisco where he became a Christian through the influence of a missionary worker of the Reformed church, who came each day to take his children to kindergarten. Saving and thrifty, he rented, and finally purchased, a forty-acre farm at Fairport, strawberries being his principal crop. Only a grammar school graduate himself, he longed to

give his children a better education. His oldest daughter, Esther, entered the University of California to study bacteriology and, when the Matsu family came to Fairport, Martha, the second daughter, was ready for high school. Last year she graduated, having led her class and the school in scholarship for four successive years. The school used to give four medals each year; and in Martha's sophomore year the awards went to Martha Matsu, John Sakatani, Toyohiko Soga and Mildred Thomas. The trustees then decided that the depression prevented any further award of medals.

Martha Matsu's special interests were drama and public speaking. When preparing a theme on "The History of Drama" as an English subject, she asked for an extra week in which to complete it. Ultimately she brought in a volume of nearly four hundred pages. In apologizing for the delay she explained that during the strawberry season she picked berries from six to eight a.m. before school, and after school until dark. Then she gave music lessons to the younger children. By ten o'clock each night she was too tired to study and so set the alarm for three a.m. in order to find time to work on her project.

Here is Martha's experience in public speaking as told, not by her, but by others. A certain fraternal organization sponsored an oratorical contest among the high schools but, learning that Martha would undoubtedly win the honor of representing the Middleville High School, sent word that this could not be

allowed and that she would be hissed off the stage if she appeared. Of course she withdrew. It was at the end of her sophomore year and was her first rude awakening to the cruelty of race discrimination. "Up to that time I loved everybody and supposed everybody loved me," she said. She became timid and withdrew within herself. "Three or four white children are really friendly," she said, "and the teachers do try to help." But do not Japanese young people become embittered by such experiences? Here is Martha's reply: "Most of us realize it is a big problem, and we are trying to solve it by our conduct. We feel that the way our parents came and made their living at first has prejudiced the white people."

The writer wishes that each reader of this book could meet Martha Matsu and feel the depth and sincerity of her soul. Small, alert and eager, she comes from the strawberry field in her old blue denim overalls, tells of her life, her plans for college and for her younger brother and sisters, and describes the joy and inspiration which came from the fellowship which her young people's group once had with a white Christian Endeavor society in a joint service in a neighboring city. "It just made you feel good inside," she says, and as she says it one senses something of the release it brought from racial ostracism and discrimination.

But Martha Matsu is not defeated. She has won a scholarship that will pay her tuition next year at college and has a chance to work for her board and room, an

achievement that has made her radiantly happy. Last year she won the Japanese oratorical contest, competing against young people from all up and down the Pacific Coast. One day last year an English teacher requested the class to read William Allen White's beautiful tribute to his daughter, Mary White, in *Essays, Old and New*, and then asked them to write a similar essay on the girl in high school who most resembled Mary White. Fully three-quarters of the students, regardless of race, wrote of Martha Matsu. Almost any student in Middleville High School, no matter how anti-Japanese in sentiment, if asked about this remarkable girl would probably say at once: "Oh, she's different! She's white!" But, whatever the compliment implies, Martha isn't, and she knows it.

WANTED—A PERSONAL CONTACT

After all, if better race relations are ever brought to pass, must it not be by personal contact with the luminous and outstanding personalities in the other race? Here was a Y.W.C.A. in a large city, for example, which had never admitted Japanese girls to the swimming pool. The secretary said quite sincerely that, while the staff had no objections whatever, they feared for the Japanese girls lest some white girl might say or do something which would hurt their feelings. Here is how the taboo was broken through at last. A member of the "Y", a woman of unquestioned social standing, brought with her as a guest one day a very dainty cul-

tured Japanese friend who wanted to learn how to swim. She soon became the most popular member of the class. Personal acquaintance had solved the problem and Japanese girls are now admitted.

It is interesting to note how often the swimming pool is the crucial point. Commercial swimming places ordinarily refuse to admit Orientals on the Pacific Coast. The Y.M.C.A. in one town admits them and in the very next town refuses them. In one city the Y.M.C.A. pool, closed to Japanese, was rented to the Y.W.C.A. which promptly brought in the Girl Reserves for swimming lessons. But some of the Girl Reserves were Japanese. Result: another Y.M.C.A. pool is opened.

"Death," said Admiral Togo, "levels every barrier." But he was mistaken. He didn't know Southern California. There is there a beautiful new cemetery—a very de luxe cemetery—but it excludes Japanese. Imagine the embarrassment of the management when a personal call disclosed to them the fact that a "Mr. Watanabe" on whom they had been concentrating high pressure sales correspondence for some weeks was not French but Japanese!

Now, before anyone becomes too indignant at such petty and foolish racial discriminations, let us pause and ask why they exist. What is the underlying cause of Middleville's accepted attitude towards the Japanese, or of San Francisco's development of what was really a sort of Chinese ghetto? And are the Orientals themselves in any way responsible?

Is what we so easily and virtuously condemn as race prejudice an inherently and altogether evil thing? Or has it some explanation to which reasonable and fair-minded people of whatever race are bound to give attention? Objectively examined, may it not prove to be an emotional explosion which is really in defense of values deeply cherished, and perhaps desperately struggled for in the past, which lie farther back in the community consciousness?

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE QUESTION

A wise and fair minded student of social problems puts it this way in a personal letter:

The near-religious character of race prejudice appears in the case of the anti-Orientalists of California. To begin with it is just a matter of economics, a secular matter. If the employment of non-white efficient labor by the big landed proprietors increases their net income considerably, they will enlarge their holdings and employ more such labor. This tends to oversupply the market with peaches, strawberries and other products, and the prices fall to a point too low for the small American producer to compete. He is forced out, and in this way the whole structure of an agricultural system can be changed in a generation or two.

Now, to many Americans, it appears that nearly all that is distinctive and valuable in American life rests historically on the independence of the small land-owning farmer—American political democracy, respect for manual labor, popular education, religious freedom, the freedom of the press, civil liberty, untrammeled science. If one attaches such significance to the existence of the small, self-respecting, land-owning

farmer, when immigration is likely to be used for the destruction of our traditional system, it will be looked upon as a disaster of the first magnitude—a moral disaster. In the face of such danger a man must fight or he is unworthy of his heritage. A somewhat similar story could be told from the viewpoint of American labor. The issues are not merely economic; they involve moral values and sentiments, they call for loyalty, they are concerned with sacred things.

Now the weight of all this should be clearly recognized and granted. It is an admirable statement of the basic reason why unrestricted immigration of Oriental labor to the Pacific Coast would be a most disastrous policy for all concerned, both Americans and Orientals. It is generally held by competent scholars today that, overcrowded as certain parts of the Orient may be, emigration cannot solve the over-population problem in the Asiatic homeland, while it may raise very serious problems abroad. Everybody ought to agree, therefore, that unrestricted immigration is not the issue. The day for that has gone by in the case of any race.

IRRITATING DISCRIMINATIONS

Two very definite questions grow out of this conclusion, however. The first concerns not the policy but the method of controlling immigration. Should it be done in ways that needlessly affront other nations? Why not employ methods that respect their dignity and have the added advantage of meriting and commanding their cooperation? When, at last, we shall have amended our laws so as to admit the Oriental to citizenship, recogniz-

ing him thereby as a fellow human being as our laws now recognize the alien white and black man; and when, by this action, we shall have placed Oriental nations on a basis of equal treatment before our immigration laws, we shall have done away with discriminations which now cause bitterness and resentment. And in doing so, we shall actually admit a number of immigrants so small as to involve no danger whatever to our institutions and national character.

The second question, which logically follows a quite definite and accepted policy that all immigration is henceforth to be definitely restricted and selective, is this: Ought not wise and tactful efforts then be made to welcome in as friendly a fashion as possible all peoples already here, including Orientals, and thus build them into our civilization as a happy and integral part of it instead of alienating them or retarding their complete assimilation by any discriminatory treatment?

The Orientals, however, have helped in part to build the walls which shut them in. They have done so by a certain clannishness, which they share, indeed, with almost all immigrant peoples of the first generation. A lifelong friend and worker among them writes thus:

> One definite obstacle to assimilation has been the maintenance among them of exclusive, often secret, racial organizations, where even the most sincere friends of the Chinese and Japanese are not welcome. The Japanese Associations were often organizations of very laudable purpose and, doubtless, of very constructive influence, but one rarely heard of

American advisers and lecturers in such groups. Even if the Chinese tongs had been equally praiseworthy in their aims, the secrecy and exclusiveness of their activities would have prejudiced Americans against them.

This is a difficulty bound to pass away, however, as the second and third generations come along, unless they are forced into a separate caste by discriminatory economic and social pressure.

TWO POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

As one looks into the future and asks what will be the outcome, two possible solutions suggest themselves.

The first possibility is the development of an Oriental caste, a community which lives within or beside the American community, but as a separate entity. A bullet or other foreign substance lodged in the human body, if it cannot be absorbed, may find the tissues building up a wall or what is called a cyst of tough resistant material around it and there it may remain for years—in the body but not of it. That might happen, conceivably, with the Orientals in America. They might become like a caste in India, restricted to certain occupations, denied intermarriage and considered socially "untouchable," except at certain strictly limited points of contact.

This has been practically their situation up to date, as it is the situation of every newly-arrived race in America for a generation or two. But will it become permanent? If it did, it would be a decidedly un-American arrangement and would involve some very

real difficulties for the Christian churches. Moreover, would not some Gandhi inevitably arise to champion the Oriental cause? And, indeed, can anyone who really knows these young people, their thoughts, their ambitions, their large element of Christian leadership, believe that such a group can ever be permanently walled into a caste?

The other alternative is that they will gradually overflow the walls which hem them in and more and more become just a part of the whole American community. In so far as they do not stay in Chinatowns or colonies like Fairport, but spread out across the country this process will be accelerated.

Will this involve intermarriage? This is the other ghost behind race prejudice. For race prejudice is not only an irrational and unconscious expression of loyalty to deeply cherished economic institutions, it is also an equally deep-seated fear of the loss of racial purity and prestige. Probably there has been in the past some high value in racial purity and prestige or it would not be guarded so strictly. Certainly no race ought to allow its sense of racial dignity to be degraded.

But, after all, is not intermarriage much more a social and psychological problem than a biological one? Isn't it more a matter of racial ritual than anything else? Competent authorities no longer believe that mixed races are "mongrel" or "degenerate" or "weaklings." The physical stamina of the offspring depends on the individuals who marry, not on their race. If the

individuals who marry represent the best of each race, their children will normally measure up as well. Ethnologists today recognize that practically all existing races are composite.

But intermarriage is a very dangerous adventure unless there is psychological and social equality.

In the case of the Oriental races there is a fortunate check on too great or premature intermarriage, and that lies in their own conservatism and sense of racial superiority. In Hawaii, for example, where there is no legal bar and relatively little social disapproval of intermarriage, it is noteworthy that the Japanese have been very slow to marry outside their racial group. If the Chinese have been less hesitant to do so, it has been because of the disproportionately small number of Chinese women. If intermarriage develops extensively between whites and Orientals in this country it is not likely to be until both races have come to recognize each other as equally worthy and honorable members of the great human race which includes us all. When this stage is reached, all valid reasons against intermarriage will automatically disappear. Probably the prejudice against marriage with Japanese or Chinese is not appreciably greater today than prejudices which have existed in the past between racial groups that intermarry freely now.

Incidentally, it is very interesting to note how the physical bearing and even the facial expression of Orientals born in this country are shifting in the American direction. Scientific studies have demonstrated that

children of European immigrants show bodily as well as mental changes towards the American type. Professor Ichihashi of Stanford reports that similar adjustments are taking place among the Orientals. For example, twelve year old American-Japanese boys average over an inch and a half taller and five and four-tenths pounds heavier than the Japan-born. Japanese are notably short-legged, but their children tend to have longer legs in this country. Changes in eyelids and eyelashes are also evident, but the most noteworthy adjustment is in the shape of the mouth and general openness and responsiveness of the countenance. Whether these changes are due to using American furniture, food habits, better dentistry, general freedom of life, or subconscious imitation of the dominant type, no one knows. The important thing is that they are taking place. Allied with this is the evident ability of the second generation to wear their clothes like native-born Americans and not like foreigners.

Is it too much to believe and hope that, sooner or later, an enlightened and intelligent American public opinion will discover that these Oriental young people, born and reared among us, are not just replicas of the old type foreign-born Chinese or Japanese, but a new type? When that day dawns and we come to see that the Oriental masks are looking more and more like American faces and that behind them are personalities which think and feel as we do and cherish similar dreams and ideals, then the barriers will crumble away.

VI

HOW THE CHURCH CAN HELP

THE church has already helped a great deal. Out of its work has come a small but devoted group of teachers, friends and missionaries who have understood the Oriental peoples in America and have defended them against popular clamor and blind abuse. In 1886, when Seattle was in the hands of an anti-Chinese mob, the Home Guards, which maintained order for three days until United States troops arrived, were largely composed of the preachers and church members of the city. Dr. Louis Albert Banks, for example, pastor of Battery Street Methodist Episcopal Church in Seattle during those days, spoke out fearlessly, as did other Christian ministers, in defense of the Chinese and in protest against the wave of mob violence which was going over the country.

PIONEER CHRISTIAN WORKERS

One Sunday Dr. Banks announced from the pulpit:

I myself have received repeated warnings that if I did not keep my mouth shut on the Chinese question I should not only receive personal injury, in fact death, but my church would be burned to the ground. Now then, in regard to

these warnings, I have this to say: I am sent out to preach a gospel that declares that Jesus Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man. I am sent out by a commission which says, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel." To whom? To Englishmen, to Americans? To Irishmen, to Germans? To men with white faces and short hair? No, to preach the gospel to every creature. It is a little late in the day to undertake to shut the door of a Methodist Episcopal church because of somebody's race prejudice. John Wesley said, "The world is my parish." [1]

To the *Western Christian Advocate* [2] he wrote:

Today our Chinese chapel in Tacoma stands desolate. The worshippers are gone. They were driven by an armed mob from their homes. Their dwellings, store-buildings, goods, etc., to the amount of many tens of thousands of dollars were burned to the ground. . . . Such deeds are on a par with the expulsion of the Moors from Spain or the Huguenots from France. Ought Christians to look on in silence?

One Sunday later on, because of threats to kill their pastor, the men of the church brought their rifles and put them under their pews. "I arose that beautiful Sunday morning to deliver my sermon morally sure that, in all that audience, I was the only man unarmed!"

Less spectacular, but abundantly fruitful across the years, has been the faithful, devoted service of pioneer missionary-minded folk who taught in obscure Chinese Sunday schools and fostered humble pioneer work among the Japanese, in days when such an interest on

[1] Louis Albert Banks, *The People's Christ.*
[2] March 24, 1886.

their part was looked upon as queer and quixotic. They could little know the fruitage of their labors, decades later, in noble lives and in the Christian leadership of a whole new generation of Americanized young people. It was a case of ministering unto "one of the least of these" and the returns are not yet all in.

A FAMILY ROLL OF HONOR

Those who want to read a fascinating life history of a Chinese immigrant boy are referred to Huie Kin's *Reminiscences.* Born in 1854 of a peasant family in an obscure village in Sunning District, southern Kwangtung, he came to Oakland, California, in 1868. He got a job as "boy" in a family at $1.50 a week. Ultimately he worked in the home of Mrs. James T. Gardiner, a good Presbyterian woman who taught him to read and sent him to the Congregational Chinese Church. In addition to this, Mr. Huie attended the Presbyterian Chinese Sunday school and an evening class at the Baptist church. The story of how he went to Geneva College and Lane Theological Seminary, and finally entered upon his forty-odd years of a fruitful pastorate at the First Chinese Church (Presbyterian) which he founded in New York City, is told in his book with humorous and interesting detail. This veteran minister died at Peiping on January 22, 1934, leaving forty grandchildren.

Here follows a roll call of his children. In 1889 the Rev. Mr. Huie married Miss Louise Van Arnam,

of Dutch descent, daughter of a manufacturer in Troy, New York, and a missionary worker among the Chinese. In the Huie family are nine children:

Irving Van Arnam. B.S. New York University; major in the Engineers during the War; now engaged in highway construction; married Miss Irene Gartland.

Harriet Louise. B.A. Hunter College; married Fuliang Chang, Ph.B., M.F. Yale, Secretary for Rural Work, National Christian Council of China.

Alice Ordaina. B.S. Teachers College, Columbia; married Y. C. James Yen. B.A. Yale, M.A. Princeton, D.Sc., St. Johns University, Director of Mass Education Association, China.

Caroline Alida. B.S., M.A., Teachers College, Columbia; married Rev. Y. Y. Tsu, Ph.D. Columbia, B.D. General Theological Seminary, New York, Secretary for Religious and Social Work, Peiping Union Medical College.

Helen Pierson. B.A. Cornell; married Paul C. T. Kwei, B.A. Yale, M.A. Cornell, Ph.D. Princeton, Professor of Physics at Central China College, Wuchang.

Ruth Gorham, Wooster College; married Henry H. C. Chou, A.B. Oberlin, Ph.D. Columbia. Dean and Professor of Education, Yenching University, Peiping.

Dorothy Esther. B.A. Hunter College, M.A. Columbia; Associate in Bacteriology, Peiping Union Medical College; married Amos Wong, M.D. St. Johns and Johns Hopkins, Assistant Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology, Peiping Union Medical College.

Albert Van Arnam. B.S., C.E., College of the City of New York; engaged in engineering; married Miss Janet Lockwood of Greenwich, Connecticut.

Arthur Kin, B.S. Lafayette College, engaged in publish-

ing and printing, New Haven, Connecticut; married Miss Isabel Lockwood of Greenwich, Connecticut.

Surely that is a record for students of interracial marriage to consider!

A similar history is furnished by the remarkable Poy family of Portland, Oregon. Then there is the story of Lee To. "Lee To was born in a small village near Canton and on the day he accepted Christianity his family disinherited him. In 1900 he set his face towards the new world where he had heard that men might worship according to their conscience. He came sadly for he left behind him his son and daughter who eventually joined him in New York. Years later, when he died while making an impassioned plea for peace during the troubled times of the 1924 tong wars, his daughter, Mabel Lee, a Ph.D. from Columbia, gave up an attractive position, took up his work in Chinatown, New York, carrying it forward with enthusiasm and marked progress ever since. She now has two hundred volunteer teachers helping in the Chinese Baptist Center in New York City.

When Lee To died, he and his family were living on the street separating Chinatown from the Jewish neighborhood. A Jewish neighbor came to express his sympathy and unconsciously paid his highest tribute to a fellow man. Wiping his eyes, for Lee To had been his friend, he said, "He was just like a Jew." Like all truly great men, Lee To had transcended his race. He belonged to everyone, everywhere.

Lee To never failed anyone. This is typical of his minis-

try. One day he found a young Chinese, long sick and without proper care, and, lifting him up in his arms very gently he carried the sick man down four flights of stairs from his dingy little room and up another four flights of stairs to his own apartment, where he bathed him, clad him in his own raiment and cared for him. As the youth lay dying in Lee To's arms he murmured: "If a Jesus Christ ever lived, He must have been like you." [1]

Christian work among the Japanese naturally is not so old as that among the Chinese, but here, too, the fruitage of pioneer effort is abundantly evident, especially in the outstanding leaders among the second generation young people.

A BLIND EDITOR

One of the heroic and appealing figures among Japanese-American youth today is James Sakamoto, the blind editor of the *Japanese-American Courier* in Seattle, and moving spirit behind the Japanese-American Citizens' League. Although not now actively engaged in church work, he was largely influenced as a boy by a Baptist Sunday school and joined the Baptist church. He was brought up in a part of Seattle where few other Japanese lived and went to a high school which was almost entirely white, as his father did not approve of Japanese congregating in colonies or large groups. As a result, he became very completely Americanized. He went east hoping to enter Princeton, but

[1] *Shaking Hands with China in New York.* New York City Baptist Mission Society.

became engaged in newspaper work instead, working on the *Japanese-American* in New York, first as an advertising agent and then at the age of nineteen as editor of the English language section.

He had always been athletic, played baseball and was the only Japanese on his high school football team. From the age of six he had practised ju-jitsu and boxing. To increase his income, he now took up professional boxing and boxed at Madison Square Garden. Then a blow received in a boxing match caused him gradually to lose his sight through a detachment of the retina. He was now twenty-four years old and going blind. His wife, a white girl, died leaving him a little baby, which was cared for by her parents. Those were dark days for Jimmy Sakamoto.

With his eyesight failing, he went back to Seattle and founded the *Japanese-American Courier* on January 1, 1928. At first he wrote his editorials in very black ink and large letters. Then, one day, he found he could no longer read what he had written. He then learned the touch system on the typewriter and struggled on. He might have given up but for his second wife, whom he married in that year. She was a Christian Japanese girl, a Presbyterian, born in Japan, who came to this country at the age of eleven. She went through high school in three years. She now does all the make-up work on the paper and is a very able and devoted assistant to her editor-husband.

Next to the paper his great interest in life is the

Japanese-American Citizens' League. He feels that the older Japanese associations filled the needs of first generation immigrants admirably, but what is now needed is an organization of the American born which will teach them the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. There are two classes of membership, active for those of voting age and associate for those younger, and the plan is to organize the American-born youth in groups for social fellowship and civic education. There are now twenty-five chapters of this Citizens' League scattered all up and down the coast, and in 1934 a convention is to be held in San Francisco. It is non-partisan but holds live discussions of political and social issues.

Now let Mr. Sakamoto speak to you in his own words:

> We feel that this paper is not for profit making, but that it exists to serve the second generation, and that by making them better Americans we can also produce a better understanding of Japan. Thus we have a double, interlocking purpose. The younger generation is the most idealistic group in America today. I mean they hold high certain ideals of American life such as freedom and democracy. When they come to an age to face realities, will they be disappointed? Well, I am blind but I am not embittered. I feel the young Japanese are a white sheet of paper—what is going to be written on that paper is yet to be determined. Through my newspaper and the Japanese-American Citizens' League, I am trying to help them to be hopeful and to strengthen them against disappointments. The American attitude is certainly

becoming much friendlier as they have come to realize the ability and sincerity of the Japanese.

In this connection, it is worth while quoting an advertisement from a Fourth of July edition of his paper:

> In tribute to the sterling Americanism of the second-generation Japanese, the East Waterway Dock and Warehouse Company takes occasion to commend them publicly for their patriotic attitude and for the splendid part which they are playing in the promotion of good-will between the United States and Japan.

Although the product of a Baptist Sunday school, James Sakamoto, like many a newspaper man, has drifted away from active membership. But he has by no means lost the core of sound religious teaching at the heart of his life. Here is his informal confession of faith as he made it in earnest conversation with the writer of this book. "We must have religion. We can't be like ripples in the sea, just guided by the winds that blow. We must have faith in something that we may be guided as we go. Character must have God as its goal. My parents were Buddhists until my sister passed away. She was a Christian and they became Christians too. I feel that the teachings of the Bible must be taken spiritually to guide you spiritually. Character is the essential thing."

SOME ORIENTAL PARISHES

Christian work among Orientals still goes on. In Seattle, for instance, is a very interesting group of

churches. The Congregational body, with its scholarly and influential pastor, the Rev. Mr. Seizo Abe, who also serves the church at Yakima, meets in the basement of a tenement house, but keeps a little garden blooming at its doorway and is a center of progressive Christian thought. The Baptist church has the largest and best equipment and is a veritable beehive of social and religious work, with kindergarten, daily vacation Bible school, girls' home, nine out-stations, and a total Sunday school enrollment of 519. Pastor Okazaki is seeing the fruitage of over thirty years of consecrated service. The Presbyterian work is well housed and ably led by the Rev. E. J. Kawamorita. The Methodists, under Pastor Tsuda, hope for a new building soon but are using the old one to capacity.

Probably the finest equipment belongs to the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians. The Catholics have come into the Oriental work late but are doing it in characteristically effective fashion. Their church at St. Maryknoll is a beautiful and artistic adaptation of Oriental architectural lines and details to Christian worship, and the work of their schools, taught by the sisters, is well done. Especially attractive is the new building of the Episcopalians. Modest and inexpensive, it combines by very skillful planning the possibilities of both social and religious service. The Rev. G. Shoji is the rector. All these churches are Japanese, but there are also two Chinese churches, Presbyterian and Baptist. The latter is large and well equipped and maintains an active

program with night school and daily vacation Bible school. The Chinese population is, of course, much smaller than the Japanese. The 1930 census gives for Seattle: Chinese, 1347; Japanese, 8448; and Filipinos, 1614. This Oriental work is supplemented and reinforced by a valuable corps of trained American missionary workers.

This is a typical set-up and could be repeated for other Pacific Coast cities with slight variations, such as the addition of the Reformed Church in the United States, which is also doing Oriental work in San Francisco and Los Angeles, the Disciples of Christ in Los Angeles, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Alameda and Oakland. Chinatown in San Francisco is, however, a special case. In addition to nine denominations at work there (the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Independent Baptists, Cumberland Presbyterians, Salvation Army, Episcopalians and Roman Catholics), there is also a strong well-equipped Y.M.C.A. in a commodious building, and a Y.W.C.A. which is a perfect gem of Chinese architecture. Here also is located the famous Presbyterian Mission Home presided over by Miss Donaldina Cameron, whose thrilling adventures combating the Chinese under-world are recorded by Carol Green Wilson in *Chinatown Quest*. She has rescued from slavery not less than fifteen hundred girls in twenty years. No wonder Chinese high-binders call her *Fahu*

Quai, "barbarian devil," while those who know and love her call her *Lo Mo*, "the little mother."

The work of the Y.W.C.A., presided over by Miss Rose Chew, is particularly appealing. It enrolls 550 members but serves many others, including 150 children, 80 of them in their teens. One of its valuable services is to give recreational opportunity to the Chinese girls who have very limited privileges in this direction and who, as a result, tend to become in-grown and cliquish. "Many Chinese girls, also," says Miss Chew, "have never had an opportunity to go into American homes and so tend to pick up only the more superficial aspects of American life." It may surprise American readers, however, to learn that "when the Girl Reserves Conferences have discussions about boy and girl problems and hip flasks, our girls don't know what hip flasks are! When we have parties we don't feel that we have to chaperon them." This is in line with the testimony of the steward of a Seattle club, sometimes rented out to parties, that the Oriental young people were the most orderly of all the groups that came, and that they left no whiskey bottles behind.

Not in Chinatown itself, but serving it, is the Chung Mei Home, conducted by Dr. C. R. Shepherd of Berkeley, California. This cares for about sixty underprivileged Chinese boys who otherwise would be adrift in the world. The boys attend the Berkeley public schools. An excellent composite picture of a Chung Mei boy is to be found in Dr. Shepherd's very readable

story of Chinese boy life, *Lim Yik Choy*. It is a pleasure to report that for the last six years these Chinese boys have been part of the regular Sunday school of the First Baptist Church of Berkeley, and that the oldest boy in the home, Eddie Tong, is now a teacher in that Sunday school, with six white boys in his class, one of them being the son of Dr. Shepherd.

In Los Angeles much good work is also being done. Especially notable is the Japanese Union Church, where Presbyterians and Congregationalists have joined forces to provide a well-housed, strongly organized work in the very heart of what is called "Little Tokyo." The Japanese Christian Institute has a model equipment and is a social and religious center serving a residential area farther out. Vigorous work is also being carried on in Los Angeles by the Baptists, the Methodists, the Reformed Church in the United States and the Episcopalians, who are true to their architectural traditions in their beautiful new Japanese church.

THROUGHOUT THE UNION

Nor is Christian work for Orientals confined to the Pacific Coast. Mention has already been made of the Presbyterian and Baptist work in New York City. The Reformed Church in America (Dutch) also has been active there and has promoted two centers for Christian work among the Japanese. The last *Oriental Missions Directory* (1926) listed a grand total of 446 places where religious work of some sort was being carried

on for Orientals, 330 in continental United States and 116 in Hawaii. Of the 330 in continental United States, 182 were on the Pacific Coast and 148 were scattered throughout the country, 29 in New York, 26 in Massachusetts, 15 in Pennsylvania. Many of these are doubtless very small, perhaps not more than a Chinese Sunday school or evening class in many eastern cities. *Home Missions Today and Tomorrow,* published in 1934, lists 294 missionary workers among sixteen denominations. This, however, does not include Hawaii.

Divided racially, there are 180 centers of Chinese work, 59 of them on the Pacific Coast and 32 of them owning their own property.[1] The Japanese come next with 127 centers, 101 of them being on the Pacific Coast and 39 owning their own property. Twelve are Korean, all in California, ten are Filipino, all but one on the Pacific Coast, and one is Hindu, a Baptist work at El Centro, California. Of the 116 centers listed in Hawaii, 13 are Chinese, all owning their own buildings; 38 are Korean, 7 with buildings of their own; and 23 are Filipino with 3 buildings of their own; 42 are Japanese, of which 23 own their own buildings.

[1] It may be of interest to note that Cuba, while not a part of the United States, has a Chinese population of over 30,000, according to the 1930 census. Work is being carried on among the Chinese in the Havana area by the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., but in the other provinces no Chinese work is being done by any board.

Canada also has widespread missionary work among Orientals, details of which may be found in *Orientals in Canada* by S. S. Osterhout, published by the Board of Home Missions of the United Church of Canada, Toronto.

In Chicago there is a Union Chinese Church and an excellent Japanese Christian Institute, presided over by Misaki Shimadzu, which is a welcome haven to Japanese traveling across the continent as well as to local residents. In addition, mention must be made of the three great International Houses which have recently arisen on the campuses of Columbia, the University of Chicago and the University of California. While not religious institutions, they are great centers of interracial understanding, and are largely patronized by Orientals.

BUDDHISM AT WORK

What about the Buddhists? Well, there are seventy-three Buddhist temples up and down the Pacific Coast. Some of them are large and impressive. The one in Fresno is reported to have cost $250,000. The Hongwangi Temple in Los Angeles, which the writer visited, had a large, orderly Sunday school and some of the pupils had evidently been brought a considerable distance in buses. There was a typical Buddhist altar on the platform and the room was fragrant with incense.

The Buddhists make a great deal of athletics and their young people's organizations are modeled after similar Christian groups. Since the passing of the immigration law of 1924 Buddhism has experienced something of a revival. Hundreds of children have been transferred, since then, from the Christian to Buddhist Sunday schools, the argument of the Buddhist priests

being: "You cannot be real Americans anyway. The Americans will not accept you. The only thing for you to do is to be a real Japanese and a Buddhist." There are now reported to be several American Japanese priests working among young Japanese Americans, and American-born boys are said to be in training at Kyoto for the Buddhist priesthood. In addition to the classic forms of Buddhism there are also popular superstitious sects like Tenrikyo and Konkokyo, which emphasize healing and material prosperity against a more or less Shinto background, and have a large following.

"Buddhism is more a form of loyalty to Japanese customs and traditions than anything else," says a keen young Christian Japanese observer. "We have quite fraternal relations with their young people's organizations but, when I asked one of them to tell our Sunday school class about his religion, he said, 'Gee, I don't know anything about Buddhism': and sent a priest in his place. Buddhism means very little religiously to the American-born Japanese, they are in it for social and athletic reasons." [1]

American Christians are sometimes unduly alarmed when they read news items like the following from the Berkeley *Gazette* [July 8, 1933]:

"A flower in the tree-tops" will henceforth be the name of Mrs. C. I. Chester, pictured here on the veranda of her home in Los Angeles and who has renounced the world of

[1] From an interview with Masao W. Satow, Y.M.C.A. Secretary in Los Angeles.

material delights to take the vow of a Buddhist nun. Mrs. Chester, once a Ziegfeld Follies dancer and later a concert pianist, is a pupil of Dr. Nyogen Sensaki of Los Angeles. She is the second woman in the United States to become a Buddhist nun. She will depart soon for a convent in Japan.

For some marginal Christians, especially those of romantic temperament, Buddhism and other Oriental cults like Theosophy will always have a certain appeal, but that does not mean that in Buddhism we are being invaded by a dangerous rival to the Christian religion. To survive among the common everyday people of America, Buddhism has to become as much like Christianity as possible. Our real problem with second-generation Japanese is not so much how to combat Buddhism; rather it is how to win and hold those who slip away from both Buddhism and Christianity into worldliness, cynicism and indifference to all spiritual loyalties and values.

It is interesting to note that it is only with the young Japanese that Buddhism exists as a living religion. With the young Chinese, as already observed in the chapter on Hawaii, the religion of their Chinese-born parents is so compounded of magic and superstition that it practically never carries over to the children born in America. The second-generation Chinese, perhaps partly for this reason, tend to be less mystical and more coldly materialistic than the Japanese. With the Chinese it seems to be a clear-cut dilemma: either Christianity or no vital religion of any sort.

One evidence of the value of this mission work among Orientals in this country, and an index to its vitality, is to be found in the widespread Christian influence which American Orientals are having on their home countries. For example, the Pacific Japanese mission of the Methodist church has furnished no less than eighty-five pastors to Japan. The present Methodist bishop in Japan, Bishop Motozo Akazawa, was converted at Honolulu through the influence of H. Kihara, who had himself been won to Christianity in San Francisco. Another Methodist leader in Japan, C. J. Tagashira, general secretary for religious education in that country, was converted in Sacramento and received all his training on the Pacific Coast. The Japanese Church in San Francisco of the Reformed Church in the United States (German) reports that two of its laymen are now preaching the gospel in a Japanese colony in Brazil!

QUESTIONS OF FUTURE POLICY

Turning now to questions of future policy and development, the first question arises as to whether there should be separate churches for Orientals at all or whether they should be merged into the regular churches of the American community. As with all immigrant peoples, there seems to be an undoubted temporary place, at least, for the racial and national group churches, provided they are safeguarded in certain ways.

They minister to the older people as an American church could not, and also, if conducted with sufficient tolerance and insight into the needs of the rising generation, they may provide for the young people of the second and third generations opportunities for leadership and self-expression which they could not obtain in the ordinary American churches. After the second or third generations, if the group is not too clannish or in some way artificially walled off from the community, they tend to conduct all their services in English and merge into the normal American church life. This has been the story of German, Scandinavian and Welsh churches.

There seems to be good reason to believe that Oriental churches may follow the same general trend.

As Dr. Frank Herron Smith of Berkeley, a trusted Methodist leader in Oriental work, says:

> The American churches wouldn't reach one per cent of the people we are reaching with our racial churches. When our Japanese young people go to the American churches they do nicely in Sunday school, but when they reach the age of social contacts there is difficulty. We may regret it, but such are the facts. Moreover, the American people cannot give Japanese young people opportunities for leadership in their churches, and so develop them, as we can in the racial churches. Does this mean that we are condoning the setting up of a caste system? My answer is that we are charged with the task of winning this generation of young people to Jesus Christ. We can't tell what the future will do, but a Chris-

tianized second generation will certainly have a better chance of breaking across the barriers.

If it is agreed, then, that separate racial work must continue at least for a generation or so, what suggestions can be made for its improvement?

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

First of all, as in so many other phases of Protestant work, wasteful and ineffective competition should be eliminated. Chinatown, San Francisco, for example, is altogether too competitive. Let us hope that the Hip Wo School for teaching the Chinese language, in which Methodists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians are uniting, is indicative of a new and better era of interdenominational mergers. Japanese work seems to have better coordination. While still too much divided in Seattle, it has a commendable list of union churches at Los Angeles, Riverside, Ogden, Salt Lake, Pasadena and elsewhere. There has also been a division of territory between Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Methodists by which competition is eliminated somewhat as it is on the foreign field.

We still have something to learn, however, from the Roman Catholic. They have come into the Oriental work late in the day and they have by no means so many institutions as the Protestants, but what they do have are very strong, well located, well housed and well manned. It is time to rise above our denomina-

tional rivalries and think constructively in terms of a united Protestantism—and the welfare of the Oriental.

A second question which may well be raised about our Oriental churches is as to whether they are not in danger of what the sociologists would call a "cultural lag," that is, of remaining too first-generation-minded in the presence of a situation where strategy calls for making the strongest kind of a bid for the second generation. One sees this in the use of language—the most important services tend to be in Chinese or Japanese, although English is the language of the second generation. An American addressing an Oriental audience on the Pacific Coast soon finds that they follow him very well, laugh at his jokes (if they are good ones) and respond to his appeal. The need of interpretation will grow steadily less. But it is not merely language—far more dangerous is a lag in ideas and attitudes. One wonders if, possibly, too large a proportion of the ministers have been trained in Japan or China.

THE TRAINING OF MINISTERS

Is there not need for a vigorous on-coming group of second-generation ministers trained in this country and living in the thought world of youth? Here is the confidential reaction of one of the strongest American-born Japanese professional men on the coast, one who belongs to the church and serves it but who says: "I no longer get anything out of the church services religiously because the pastor's theological ideas are too

old-school and his preaching is either below the intellectual level of the second generation or is just aimed at the children or the high school group." "Where, then, do you turn for religious nourishment and stimulation?" he was asked. And this was his reply: "Well, I listen to Fosdick over the radio, and I read books!" And the books he had read were good ones. He feels that the churches are making a great mistake not to have up-to-date preaching, book reviews, and discussions of living issues if they are to hold the young married, and often college educated, group of the second generation.

It is a hopeful sign that some progress is being made in this direction. The Methodists report that of their twenty-four pastors six can preach in English. Four of their churches are in charge of second-generation pastors and there is also a group of American-born young people's workers. The Japanese Methodist Church in Seattle, for example, has employed as young people's leader, Miss Hayakawa, a recent graduate who had majored in sociology at the University of Southern California; and the Baptist Church has an energetic young people's leader in the person of Paul Katayama. "The Japanese Baptist Church of Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, is surrounded by a fine intelligent class of people, some of whom hold college and university degrees. The Sunday school is well graded and enrolls about 250 children and young people."

It is also encouraging to see how vigorously the young people are organizing themselves and pioneering their own way. The Japanese Young People's Christian Federations are very vigorous and influential organizations. They are interdenominational, unfettered and progressive. It is freely said that the Japanese young people take religion more seriously than white young people. The Japanese Christian Young People's Conference, meeting in Berkeley, is the largest annual gathering of Christian young people on the Coast. Last year there were 569 in attendance. A copy of the Federation Bulletin issued by the Southern California group is filled with constructive suggestions and overflowing with a spirit of good fellowship and adolescent "pep."

Even if some of the churches are static and first-generation-minded, it is perfectly evident that this younger group which is coming on is not easily to be sidetracked. When one realizes that the average age of the second generation is now twelve years, it is evident that the crest of the wave is not yet reached. If they can be given carefully selected and well trained leadership of their own generation, this Oriental young people's group can be won to the Christian cause. Here is a great field and responsibility for the colleges, theological seminaries and missionary statesmen of our day.

The third thing needed in this whole Oriental religious situation is closer contact with the American

churches. If the Oriental is not to develop into a separate caste, it must be the Christian churches of America that lead the way to prevent it. And this can be done in two ways.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AMERICAN CHURCHES

Where there are enough Orientals in the community to have churches of their own, great responsibility rests upon the American churches to keep the paths of fellowship open between them. One of the bright spots in the Christian life of Martha Matsu was when her Japanese young people's group was invited to a joint meeting with a Christian Endeavor Society in a neighboring city. "But they never did it again," she said rather wistfully. Joint meetings, retreats, conferences and summer camps at which both races are represented are equally valuable to the young people on both sides of the racial line. A secretary of the Y.W.C.A. was worrying about how to send her Chinese and Japanese delegates to a "Y" camp. Should she send them in separate automobiles? The youngsters settled it for her. "They all mixed up together and that was an end of it," she said.

American churches can go further and welcome and entertain young Orientals in their homes. A lecturer addressing an incoming student group from China advised them to go into American homes. Well, nobody except a burglar or a fireman does that without being

invited! Delegates to a young people's conference should be particularly welcomed to the Christian homes of the community. Such hospitality would help to cause many barriers to crumble, particularly if it were not insisted upon nor untactfully demanded but simply assumed as a matter of course.

But there is a second group of churches located in areas where Orientals are few. Theirs is a special opportunity, for they can bring these people right into the warm glow of American church life. Don't put them all together in a special class. That is exactly what they don't want. Mix them in with everybody else. Treat them exactly as you would all other human beings and you'll find how responsive and appreciative they are.

There is also much that the individual Christian anywhere in the country can do. Herbert Dunham, a thirteen-year-old boy of Rockville Center, Long Island, sends in this stimulating report of experiences along this line.

Two years ago my mother went to a Chinese laundry to see if there were any boys that wanted to learn to speak English. She found two boys about sixteen years of age. I was given one to teach, but he soon went to the city to work. In another year the proprietor of the same laundry asked mother if she would teach two other Chinamen, both twelve years of age. This was fun for me because I was twelve, and to have a boy of my own age would be interesting.

I have taught him now for about a year. He brings dic-

tionaries in Chinese and English and also story readers. Mother and I give two lessons a week and on Sundays after Sunday school we give them lessons. We teach them Bible stories and now they have learned the Lord's Prayer by heart. We discovered in a little while that they had good voices and they soon learned to sing "Jesus Loves Me" by heart. We shall teach them more songs as time goes on. Once in a while we play anagrams with them, which teaches them to spell words and learn what they mean. Now, besides being my pupil, we have very good times together. I think it is a fine work and I like it very much.[1]

STUDENTS FROM ABROAD

A very important special group of Orientals in this country is made up of the students who come from abroad, not to reside but to study for a few years and then return to their own lands. These "unofficial ambassadors," as the Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students calls them, are here at a very impressionable period in their lives and may, therefore, become not only ambassadors of better understanding from their own countries to ours, but also ambassadors to their own lands on our behalf and on behalf of Christ.

The total number of foreign students in this country has decreased sharply due to the depression. It was 10,394 in 1931–32, 8,220 in 1932–33, and 7,720 in 1933–34.

[1] *A Light for Your Honorable Mind,* Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society, New York.

The following table shows what a large proportion of foreign students come from Oriental countries:

Afghanistan	9	Java	11
Burma	2	Korea	127
Ceylon	1	Malay States	4
China	1101	Persia	30
Hawaii [1]	87	Philippines	515
India	101	Siam	20
Japan	1526	Tahiti	1
		Total	3,535

Foreign students are scattered all over the country in nearly five hundred different schools, colleges and universities—probably at least two hundred and fifty institutions have Oriental students. The depression has affected these students seriously, as many of them are largely dependent on earning their own way. Under the fostering care of the National Y.M. and Y.W. C.A.'s Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students, special organizations with secretaries of their own race have been built up among the Chinese, Filipino, Japanese and Korean students.

This committee's latest report—called significantly the "Unofficial Ambassadors"—summarizes several important aspects of the present situation in the colleges:

[1] Note: Hawaii, strictly speaking, ought not to be listed as a foreign country, since it is an integral part of the United States, but it is thus included in the statistics for the Y.M.C.A. Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students. This circumstance illustrates how Hawaiian-born Orientals find themselves classified on the mainland.

Foreign students have been brought into the spotlight by two or three recent events. The ruling of the Secretary of Labor in 1932, banning foreign students from earning money, called forth a nation-wide protest. The foreign student suddenly became front-page news. Boards of regents, faculties and student organizations in many universities had the subject up for lively discussion and vigorous action. As a result of the universal protest, the ruling was modified. The discussion, on nearly every campus, of the rights and claims of the foreign student revealed clearly a majority opinion favorable to granting the foreign students the same self-help opportunities as are available to American students. It is devoutly to be hoped that no step will be taken by the United States government which will render more difficult the important task of promoting international friendship and goodwill through courtesy to foreign students and professors.

A second event of major significance is the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry. The findings of this group have a vital and immediate bearing on America's relation to Oriental peoples. Non-Christian, as well as Christian Oriental students and their American friends, are exchanging views on the report throughout North America and the Orient. In general, as far as one can determine, Oriental students enthusiastically welcome the report as a confirmation of student convictions that Oriental peoples have the right to develop and direct their culture and institutions in their own way, free from the domination of any foreign power. The influence of foreign students in stimulating such an inquiry is widely recognized. Consequently it is already apparent that in the future Oriental student opinion will be more generally sought and considered than heretofore by church people in America. . . .

Two other influential factors in our relationship to foreign students are: the clash between Japan and China, and the definite progress towards the independence of the Philip-

pines. The threat to any sort of world organization for peaceful settlement of international disputes has brought keen disappointment to thousands of foreign students. Naturally political strife has affected the personal relationships between Japanese and Chinese students on American campuses. Active propaganda is being carried on by both groups. The Philippine question has vied with the Sino-Japanese controversy for attention. We are receiving a liberal education about Filipino aspirations from their students and politicians via platform, pulpit, radio and press.

The churches can be of great help to these Oriental students by creating an attitude of friendship and hospitality towards them. There are many stories which bring a feeling of shame to Americans of how students from the Orient have been rebuffed from door to door, unable to find lodging in American college towns. Tim Tieh, for instance, came to Pullman, Washington, to attend the State College; but, even after five or six days of searching, no door was open to him. So the Y.M.C.A. secretary finally let him sleep in his office, and this led to the foundation of an International Club for foreign students. Mr. Tieh graduated in 1928 and is now editor of a paper creating public opinion in China. A leading Chinese doctor on the Pacific Coast still remembers how as a medical student he was refused a room at a large Y.M.C.A. built especially for students in an eastern city.

Foreign missionaries and others report that many students return from this country disillusioned and cynical about American Christianity, partly because of such racial discrimination. "One of the great indignations

of my life," says Pearl Buck, "was to find certain women in Christian churches in America who would give money and time to a foreign missionary society for work among peoples 10,000 miles away but who would not open the doors of their homes to students and persons of other races in their own cities, strangers and foreigners in America. What is the use of preaching Christ abroad when we deny him by such acts as these at home?"

On the other hand, much sympathetic interest is constantly being displayed by Christian America towards her foreign student guests. The great International Houses in New York, Chicago and Berkeley are open to all regardless of race or creed. The Chicago Church Federation each year gives a foreign student dinner at which some ten or twelve hundred foreign students are invited as the guests of the church people of the city who preside at the various tables. Many homes are opened in this way, and many invitations to Thanksgiving or Christmas dinner, or to speak before church groups, grow out of this simple friendly contact. All over America not only churches but Rotary Clubs and other civic organizations hold out a hospitable hand to the student away from home.

Brent House, near the University of Chicago, is a shining illustration of what churches may do for foreign students, and especially for Orientals. It is a beautiful, homelike house, in the midst of a lovely garden, which was opened in 1930 as a national center

for conference and devotion as the gift of the Woman's Auxiliary of the National Council of the Episcopal Church, and is maintained under their direction. Around it there has been created a friendly and home-like atmosphere. The resident supervisor, Mrs. George Biller, expresses her ideal for it as "a home for the building of friendship and understanding among peoples of different nationalities and races through religious fellowship, intellectual activities and social contacts."

Here conferences of Oriental and other students have been held from time to time, here distinguished speakers from the Orient, like Kagawa, have been heard, many discussion meetings have been conducted by outstanding American religious and educational leaders. The house is always open as a friendly center of Christian fellowship and, in a single year, drew over three thousand personal interviews and visits from students, entirely aside from organized conferences. A Brent House, or its equivalent on a smaller scale, adjacent to every campus in America, would change the returned student into a friend instead of a critic and a cynic, which he too often becomes today. Over the door of International House in New York is carved, "That Brotherhood May Prevail" and over a door of International House in Chicago is a Latin motto: *Nemo solus satis sapit,* which may be translated "No one is sufficient unto himself," or, put into the vernacular, "No one knows enough to do the job alone." If the

foreign student can carry home these ideals from America it will be a better day for all mankind.

NOTHING LESS THAN CHRISTIAN BROTHERHOOD!

But there is one last thing which the church must do, without which all else is vain. No amount of activity, no list of missions, churches, Sunday schools, workers, contributors, converts, social institutions or anything else will avail unless, beyond them, the church, as the organized expression of Christian ideals, shall have committed itself absolutely and without equivocation to the basic doctrine of human brotherhood and to a resolute separation of itself from war, greed, violence and all commercial exploitation of human beings. The growing edge of human progress was once in the field of personal ethics; today it has moved on to the field of social, international and interracial ethics. Given the high philosophy and unconquerable purpose of human brotherhood as the definite watchword of the Christian church, all will be well with the Oriental in America. With any less Christlike ideal, how can anything be really well with anybody?

These words are written in a time when economic and moral chaos seems ready to engulf the world. Europe is talking war. Dictatorships and violence, the persecution of minority peoples and a nationalism which bids fair to enthrone itself as a secular religion, a veritable anti-Christ, these are the false gods of the hour. Such a time is fraught with peculiar perils to

minority groups such as the Orientals in our midst. No man can tell when some new madness of nationalistic passion, some seductive form of blind and selfish racial egotism, may rise up to sacrifice new victims to intolerance and persecution. Now is the day of testing for the Christian church. No glory of architecture, no ritual, however uplifting to the emotions, no theological scholarship, no tricks of crowd psychology, no technical skill of organization, not even church unity itself, will avail to save the world if the church fails to proclaim and live the heroic and absolutely central truth of human brotherhood. We shall sink into what a great religious teacher has ominously called "a condition of pious irrelevancy," unless, in this great hour, we make it crystal clear that the "fruits of the Spirit," with which the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ came to bless mankind, are "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control," and that these subsist not only between individuals but also between industries, classes, nations and races of men.

TABLE I

REGIONAL SEX DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE, JAPANESE, AND FILIPINOS IN THE UNITED STATES, CENSUS OF 1930

	CHINESE		*JAPANESE*		*FILIPINO*	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
United States	59,802	15,152	81,771	57,063	42,268	2,940
New England	3,233	561	277	75	329	29
Middle Atlantic	12,503	1,502	2,740	922	2,568	314
E. North Central	5,421	919	755	267	2,859	168
W. North Central	1,431	307	662	341	708	76
South Atlantic	1,477	392	278	115	780	81
E. South Central	589	154	32	14	48	2
W. South Central	1,237	345	432	255	663	176
Mountain	2,675	577	7,036	4,382	1,279	112
Pacific	31,236	10,395	69,559	50,692	33,034	1,982

TABLE II

CHINESE, JAPANESE, AND FILIPINOS IN CITIES OF 100,000 OR MORE, CENSUS OF 1930

	CHINESE			*JAPANESE*			*FILIPINO*		
	Total	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*
Akron, Ohio	107	76	31	3	—	—	3	—	—
Albany, N. Y.	104	72	32	3	—	—	4	—	—
Baltimore, Md.	438	346	92	29	—	—	99	97	2
Boston, Mass.	1,595	1,346	249	69	—	—	108	98	10
Buffalo, N. Y.	110	91	19	17	—	—	5	—	—
Cambridge, Mass.	133	111	22	22	—	—	3	—	—
Chicago, Ill.	2,757	2,408	349	486	355	131	1,796	1,715	81
Cincinnati, Ohio	135	101	34	16	—	—	12	—	—
Cleveland, Ohio	570	486	84	45	—	—	11	—	—
Columbus, Ohio	126	111	15	3	—	—	8	—	—
Dallas, Texas	10	—	—	51	—	—	1	—	—
Denver, Colo.	154	121	33	349	225	124	88	—	—
Detroit, Mich.	710	586	124	103	83	20	605	568	37
Duluth, Minn.	51	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
El Paso, Tex.	175	150	25	80	—	—	19	—	—

TABLE II *cont'd*

	CHINESE			JAPANESE			FILIPINO		
	Total	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*
Fall River, Mass.	108	87	21	—	—	—	—	—	—
Flint, Mich.	37	—	—	17	—	—	8	—	—
Grand Rapids, Mich.	26	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—
Houston, Tex.	31	—	—	52	—	—	73	—	—
Jersey City, N. J.	152	129	23	3	—	—	6	—	—
Kansas City, Kan.	1	—	—	23	—	—	2	—	—
Kansas City, Mo.	108	91	17	26	—	—	189	179	10
Long Beach, Cal.	76	—	—	596	344	252	106	99	7
Los Angeles, Cal.	3,009	2,228	781	21,081	12,597	8,484	3,245	3,021	224
Milwaukee, Wis.	176	157	19	10	—	—	37	—	—
Minneapolis, Minn.	221	175	46	38	30	8	133	127	6
Newark, N. J.	667	622	45	11	—	—	77	—	—
New Orleans, La.	267	197	70	34	—	—	328	255	73
New York, N. Y.	8,414	7,549	865	2,356	1,748	608	1,797	1,599	198
Norfolk, Va.	151	114	37	19	—	—	62	—	—
Oakland, Cal.	3,048	2,011	1,037	2,137	1,241	896	572	497	75
Oklahoma City, Okla.	112	97	15	9	—	—	7	—	—

Omaha, Neb.	147	113	34	46	—	—	14	—	—
Paterson, N. J.	68	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,672	1,474	198	138	98	40	549	492	57
Pittsburgh, Pa.	296	257	39	14	—	—	16	—	—
Portland, Ore.	1,416	990	426	1,864	1,088	776	499	484	15
Providence, R. I.	132	113	19	7	—	—	3	—	—
Rochester, N. Y.	97	—	—	9	—	—	4	—	—
St. Louis, Mo.	484	393	91	31	—	—	91	—	—
St. Paul, Minn.	122	104	18	10	—	—	30	—	—
Salt Lake City, Utah	155	125	30	503	317	186	52	—	—
San Antonio, Tex.	316	210	106	27	—	—	57	—	—
San Diego, Cal.	509	387	122	911	521	390	394	314	80
San Francisco, Cal.	16,303	12,033	4,270	6,250	3,607	2,643	4,576	4,158	418
Seattle, Wash.	1,347	969	378	8,448	4,741	3,707	1,614	1,563	51
Spokane, Wash.	74	—	—	393	245	148	41	—	—
Syracuse, N. Y.	50	—	—	5	—	—	5	—	—
Tacoma, Wash.	89	—	—	1,193	676	517	61	—	—
Toledo, Ohio	90	—	—	36	—	—	16	—	—
Tulsa, Okla.	6	—	—	8	—	—	3	—	—
Washington, D. C.	398	305	93	78	—	—	294	255	39
Worcester, Mass.	79	—	—	7	—	—	1	—	—

ANNOTATED BOOK LIST

This is not a complete bibliography, but simply a list of books consulted by the author in the preparation of this volume and commended to the attention of leaders of study groups in this field. Some of these books are out of print, but many will be found in public libraries.

Leaders of groups using this book may secure through its publishers or denominational literature headquarters a pamphlet entitled "A Course for Leaders of Adult Groups Studying the Orientals in the United States," by Margaret I. Marston. Price 25 cents. For group members there is available from the same sources an accompanying leaflet entitled "What Do *You* Think About Orientals in the United States?" containing questions on the subject and check lists of thought-provoking statements of fact and opinion. Price 10 cents each; 60 cents per dozen.

Adams, Romanzo, "Further Developments of Race Contacts in Hawaii," Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. 1933. 15 cents. Professor Adams holds the chair of economics and sociology at the University of Hawaii and has high standing as a careful student of social problems. He is an objective, well-balanced, independent analyst of statistics and the facts that lie behind them.

——, "The Peoples of Hawaii." 60 pp. Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. 1933. 50 cents.

Banks, Louis Albert, *The People's Christ.* 220 pp. Lothrop, Lee and Shepard Co., Boston. 1892. $1.50. Dr. Banks was a brilliant and popular Methodist preacher. His book con-

tains in its last twenty pages a graphic picture of the anti-Chinese riots of 1886.

Beach, Walter G., *Oriental Crime in California.* 95 pp. Stanford University Press, Cal. 1932. $1.50; paper, $1.00. A scientific and authoritative study by a professor of social science in Stanford University.

Bogardus, Emory S., *Immigration and Race Attitudes.* 268 pp. D. C. Heath and Co., New York. 1928. $1.80. Professor Bogardus is head of the department of sociology at the University of Southern California, and is a close and sympathetic observer of racial problems on the Pacific Coast.

Brown, Lawrence Guy, *Immigration.* 414 pp. Longmans, Green and Co., New York. 1933. $3. A clear, well written, up-to-date discussion of the cultural conflicts and social adjustments involved in the whole immigration problem, with special chapters on the Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos. An invaluable book for a group leader.

Castle, William R., *Hawaii, Past and Present.* Dodd, Mead and Co., New York. 1927. $2.50. An old but a standard and reliable general description of Hawaii. Good for the insular background up to about 1915.

Chamberlain, J. P., "Aliens in the United States." Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. 20 cents. This pamphlet has special references to Orientals in the United States.

Coolidge, Mary Roberts, *Chinese Immigration.* 531 pp. Henry Holt and Co., New York. 1909. Out of print. Old but thorough-going and authoritative. Written when Mrs. Coolidge was a professor of sociology at Stanford University.

Crawford, David L., *Paradox in Hawaii.* 259 pp. The Stratford Company, Boston. 1933. $2. A careful, constructive study of economic and educational tensions in Hawaii, by the president of its territorial university. Fresh, authoritative and important.

Crawford, David L., *Can Nations be Neighbors?* 120 pp. The Stratford Company, Boston. $1.50. Some valuable and stimulating reflections on racial and international relations around the Pacific by a man with first-hand information.

"Emigration of Filipinos to Hawaii and the United States," Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. 1931. 10 cents.

Feldman, H., *Racial Factors in American Industry.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 1931. $4. Excellent chapter on the Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos.

Foreign Student in America, The. 329 pp. Association Press, New York. 1928. $1.75. A veritable encyclopedia of information about foreign students and their problems, prepared by the Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students.

Goldenweiser, A., "Race and Race Relations." Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. 1931. 35 cents.

Gulick, Sidney L., *The American-Japanese Problem.* 349 pp. Federal Council of Churches, New York. 1914. $1.75. An old book but valuable for its author's thorough understanding of Japan and his insight into the whole problem of Oriental relationships.

——, "The Reestablishment of Right Relations with Japan." 30 pp. Commission on International Justice and Goodwill, Federal Council of Churches, New York. 1925. 25 cents. A comprehensive, compact, well-balanced pamphlet on the immigration issue between Japan and the United States. Factual, fair and convincing.

Home Missions Today and Tomorrow. A Review and Forecast. 419 pp. Home Missions Council, 105 East 22nd Street, New York. 1934. $2. This careful and authoritative survey of the extensive field of home missions contains a section, "Orientals in the United States," pp. 157-161, with statistical analyses on pp. 25, 26 and 29, and a working bibliography.

Huie Kin, *Reminiscences.* 116 pp. San Yu Press, Peiping, China. 1932. A very interesting life history of a Chinese immigrant boy who became a Presbyterian minister in New York.

Ichihashi, Yamato, *Japanese in the United States.* 417 pp. Stanford University Press, Cal. 1932. $4. The most comprehensive and authoritative resource book on the subject, by the professor of Japanese history and government in Stanford University. A mine of information about Japanese immigrants and their children.

Kuykendall, R. S., *A History of Hawaii.* Macmillan Co., New York. 1926. $2.50. Professor Kuykendall is head of research work in Hawaiian history at the University of Hawaii and his is the latest and most authoritative history of the Islands.

Lasker, Bruno, *Filipino Immigration.* 445 pp. Institute of Pacific Relations Study. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1931. $4. The most comprehensive and authoritative study available on the Filipinos.

McKenzie, R. D., *Oriental Exclusion.* Institute of Pacific Relations Study. 200 pp. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1927. $2. A careful, impartial, scholarly analysis by a member of the department of sociology at the University of Michigan.

Mears, Eliot Grinnell, *Resident Orientals on the Pacific Coast.* 545 pp. Institute of Pacific Relations Study. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1928. $3. Professor Mears teaches in Stanford University and knows his subject at first hand.

Millis, H. A., *The Japanese Problem in the United States.* Macmillan Co., New York. 1915. $2.25. Old now, but still contains much valuable material.

Mixon, John L., and Noss, Theodore K., "Survey of Filipinos in Chicago." Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago. 25 cents. Available in mimeographed form.

Oldham, J. H., *Christianity and the Race Problem.* Association Press, New York. $1.25. Not a book on orientals, but an excellent study of the whole subject of race relations in the light of Christian ideals, by an English religious leader.

Palmer, Albert W., *The Human Side of Hawaii.* 144 pp. Pilgrim Press, Boston. 1924. $2. An account of the missionary background and the social and religious problems of Hawaii.

Pitkin, Walter B., *Must We Fight Japan?* Century Co., New York. 1921. $2.50. The author is a professor in Columbia University, and his book, which is filled with valuable information, is less sensational than its title.

Shapiro, H. L., "Chinese Population in Hawaii." Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. 1931. 30 cents.

Shepherd, Charles R., *The Ways of Ah Sin.* 223 pp. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 1923. 75 cents. A vivid and thrilling account of the underworld of San Francisco's Chinatown, by a brilliant Baptist missionary who got his facts at first hand. It is, however, not the whole of Chinatown.

——, *Lim Yik Choy.* 252 pp. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 1932. $1.50. A much more constructive book than *The Ways of Ah Sin* and an excellent supplement to it. The story of a Chinese boy in America. Very interesting to adolescent readers.

Smith, William Carlson, "The Second Generation Oriental in America." 36 pp. Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu. 1927. Gratis. This pamphlet contains source material of the highest value, collected by its author while he was a member of the research staff of the Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast in 1926. As the full findings of that survey have never been published, this document is especially important for all students of the viewpoint of second-generation Orientals.

Strong, E. K. Jr., Stanford University publications, Stanford University Press, Cal. Each $1.50; paper, $1.

Vocational Aptitudes of Second-Generation Japanese in the United States. 1933. A scientific monograph by a professor in Stanford University and others, comparing American-born Japanese with white Americans as to physical and mental traits.

Japanese in California. 1933. Report of a survey covering 10 per cent of the Japanese population, giving data as to size of families and educational and occupational status.

Educational Status of Japanese Americans in California. (Forthcoming.) A monograph giving special reference to the effect of segregation of Japanese in public schools.

Second Generation Japanese Problem, The. (Forthcoming.) A book which summarizes in popular fashion the three scientific monographs noted above and also gives historical background and possible solution of the problem.

Sugimoto, Etsu I., *A Daughter of the Samurai.* Doubleday, Doran and Co., Garden City, N. Y. 1926. $3. An intimate and beautiful autobiography of a Japanese girl, reflecting the many-sided life of Japan in the transition period.

Survey Graphic for May 1926. "East by West, Our Windows on the Pacific." This issue contains a valuable and fascinating series of articles by the group of investigators connected with the Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast in 1926, and should be consulted by everyone interested in a better understanding of Orientals in America.

"Unofficial Ambassadors, The." 16 pp. The Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students, 347 Madison Ave., New York. 1933. Gratis. A valuable pamphlet giving the latest information about the foreign student situation.

Wilson, Carol Green, *Chinatown Quest.* 263 pp. Stanford

University Press, Cal. 1931. $3. The life adventures of Donaldina Cameron. Shows how exciting a missionary's life may be. More thrills than a motion picture show.

Young, Donald R., *American Minority Peoples.* 621 pp. Harper and Brothers, New York. 1932. $3.50. A philosophical and factual study of racial and cultural conflicts in the United States. Those sections that refer to the Orientals are cogent and thought-provoking. The book provides excellent background material for the general problems involved. The bibliography is especially valuable and complete.

Young, Kimball, "Social Psychology of Oriental-Occidental Prejudices." Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. 1929. 20 cents.

The following unpublished works have also been consulted in the preparation of this book:

Fan Ting Chiu, *Chinese Residents in Chicago.* 157 pp. An unpublished M.A. thesis at the University of Chicago. Written in 1925. Fine descriptions of Chinese family societies. Curiously silent about tongs and tong wars.

Harada, Tasuku, *The Japanese Problem in California.* 94 pp. Published privately in 1922. An interesting compilation of questions and answers from prominent people all over the country. Dr. Harada is professor emeritus of Japanese language and literature in the University of Hawaii.

Smith, William Carlson, *Americans in Process.* This book, now being completed by the professor of sociology at William Jewell College, is based on resident study both in Hawaii and on the Pacific Coast, and gives a valuable and scientific account of our citizens of Oriental ancestry and what is happening to them.

Wu Ching Chao. *Chinatowns.* 375 pp. An unpublished doctor's dissertation at the University of Chicago. A mine of information about the Chinese in America.

INDEX

Abe, Rev. Seizo, 174
Adams, Prof. Romanzo, vi, 27, 93, 137
Aglipay, Archbishop, 82
Agudo, Mr. Luis, 82-83
American Bible Society, 60
American Missionary Association, vi
Anti-Alien Land Laws, 46-48
Arai, Mr. Clarence T., 65
Asiatic immigration, 9-21, 31-33, 44-51, 76-79, 105-108
Ayres, Colonel Leonard P., 117

Banks, Dr. Louis, 165-167
"Barbary Coast," 6
Beach, Professor Walter G., 23, 26, 27, 77
Billiones, Mr. John Y., 87-88
Boyd, Mr. Robert A., vi
Brent House, 194-195
Brown, Dr. Lawrence Guy, 76
Buck, Mrs. Pearl, 194
Buddhism, 62-64, 124-125, 179-181
Bundy, Rev. T. W., 76
Burlingame Treaty, 30

California: Chinese exclusion, 30-33; early days, 7; gold rush days, 9, 10; labor conditions, 13-15; lynching, 15-16; persecution of Chinese, 15-19; railroad building, 15
Callao, Rev. Juan, 83, 84
Cameron, Miss Donaldina, 6, 25, 175-176
Carey, Mrs. Mary, 35-36
Caronjay, Mr. P. A., 81, 84
Chew, Miss Rose, 176
Chicago Church Federation, 100
Chin, Mrs. Stanley, 139, 144
Chinatown, 1-36
Chinatown Quest, 25
Chinese: American-born, 11, 135, 138, 148; Benevolent Association, 9; churches, 34, 35; criminal data, 26-27, 56-57; early occupations, 11-15; early popularity, 11-12; exclusion, 30, 32, 33, 46; gambling, 21-23, 28; highbinders, 9; high visibility, 18-19; immigration, 10-11, 25, 30-34, 105-106; in business, 146-147, 148-149; in Hawaii, 105-106, 111, 135, 143-144; moral problems, 21-22; opium smoking, 4, 5, 24; persecution, 15-19; population in U. S., 10-11, 25, 149; restaurants, 4; schools, 35; slave-girls, 2, 5, 25, 175-176; social status today, 90; Sunday schools, 2; tongs, 27-30
Ching, Wah Lee, 5
Christian Endeavor Society, 155, 188
Christian Endeavor World Convention, 5
Christian Missions among Orientals, 8-9, 34-36, 68, 82-84, 99-102, 106, 119-123, 126-131, 165-197
Clemente, Mr., 80-81, 84
Cole, Dr. Fay Cooper, 89
Coleman, Dr. Norman F., 127-128
Confucianism, 124-126
Coolidge, President, 46

Crawford, Dr. David L., 117, 134

Darsie, Mr. Marvin L., 58
Dewey, Admiral George, 73
Dunham, Herbert, 189-190

Evans, Professor Herbert F.

Filipinos: vi, ix; American navy and, 75; American policy towards, 73-76; citizen's status, 74-75; clubs, 95-96; Community Center of Chicago, 99-102; distribution in U. S., 76-77, 78; Hawaii, 76, 77; immigration, 76-79; Independent Catholic Church, 82; interracial relations, 97-99; laborers, 75-76, 79-81; Labor Supply Association, 81; origins, 89-90; Protestant Church, Salinas, 83; sex ratios, 78; social problems, 91-94; social traits, 91-93; typical problems, 85-89
Fosdick, Rev. H. E., 186
Fourteenth Amendment, 50
Fujinaga, Mr. Ernest, 127

Gandhi, Mahatma, x, 162
Garrett Biblical Institute, 127
Gee, Mr. Charles, 147
Gee, Miss Dorothy, 146-147
"Gentlemen's Agreement," The, 44-46, 75, 77
Gonzales, Mr. V. C., 82

Hanihara, Ambassador, 45
Hanvey, Miss Bonnie J., vi
Harte, Bret, 21
Hawaii: Aloha spirit, the, 112-114; Buddhism in, 124-126; Chinese population, 105-106, 111, 135, 143-144; Christianity in, 105; early conditions, 116-118; "ethnological museum," 103-105; eventualities, in, 135-137; Filipinos, 76, 108-111; Hawaiian population, 111; Hawaiian Board of Missions, 106; imported Oriental labor, 105-108; Japanese population, 76, 106-107, 111, 135; Korean population, 107-108, 111; language schools, 53; legislature, 53; military and naval regime, 131-132; missionary trail makers, 119-120; population, 104; racial contacts; 109-112; socio-economic problems, 134-135
Hayakawa, Miss, 186
Hindu "untouchables," x
Hinman, Dr. George W., vi
Holt, Professor Arthur, 94
Home Missions; *see* Christian missions
Hung, Wai Ching, 115

Ichihashi, Professor Y., 46-51, 164
Immigration; *see* Asiatic immigration
Immigration Bill, 45
Independent Catholic Church, 82
International House, 194-195

Japanese: American-born, 11, 51-52, 61, 62, 138; Americanization of, 70-71; Anti-Alien Land Laws, 46-48; agricultural traditions, 42-43; assimilation problems, 60-62, 64-68; Buddhism in America, 62-64; clan loyalty, 42; criminal data, 56-57; family life, 37-38; "Gentlemen's Agreement," the, 44-46; honesty, 40-41; immigration, 10-11, 45, 48-51; industriousness, 55-56; in "Fairport" and "Middleville," 149-153; labor, 45; language schools, 51-55; Law of Nationality, 50-51; picture-brides, 39, 44; population in the U. S.,

10-11; school record, 58-60; school problem, 44; sex ratios, 37; social habits, 39-40; Young People's Federations, 187

Kagawa, Toyohiko, 195
Katayama, Mr. Paul, 186
Katsuki, Dr., 54
Kawai, Dr. Kazuo, 67
Kawai, Mrs., 67
Kawamorita, Rev. E. J., 174
Kearney, Dennis, 15
Kihara, Rev. H., 182
Kin family, The, 167-169
Kin, Rev. Huie, 10, 167-169
Kincheloe, Professor, S. C., 94
Koreans: immigration, 107; in Hawaii, 107-110, 111; in Hawaiian schools, 117-118
Kuantung Province, 9
Kwan-yin, 4

League of Nations, 24
Lee, Dr. Mabel, 169
Lee, Mr. To, 169-170
Low, Mr. Pardee, 139, 148

Magellan, 73
Manion, Inspector Jack, 5, 6, 7, 26
Matheson, Captain Duncan, 5
Matsu, Miss Martha, 153-156, 188
Matsuoka, Mr., 68-69
Millis, Professor H. A., 48
Missions; *see* Christian missions
Mitchell, Professor Edmund, 23
Mixon, Mr. John L., vi, 94
Murphy, Edward A., 29
Murphy, U. G., 60

Neeno, Mr. Hiroshi, 67-68
Ng Poon Chew, Dr., 35
Noss, Mr. Theodore K., vi, 94

Okazaki, Rev. Mr., 174
On Leong Tong, 29
Organic Act, the, 135
Orientals: community work in U. S., 177-179; exclusion of, 78; exclusion laws, 31-35; immigration, 8, 31-33; in California, 25, 158-159; labor, 7; students in the U. S., 190-196

Pacific School of Religion, vi
Palmer, Mr. Philip, vi
Paul, St., 138, 142
Punahou School, 128

Rader, Dr. M. A., 85, 86
Reynolds, Professor, 149
Roosevelt, Theodore, 44

Sakamaki, George, 127, 170-173
Sampayan, Mr. S. B., 80
Schools: Commodore Stockton, 8; Jean Parker, 8
Shepherd, Rev. Charles R., 7, 25, 176-177
Shimoda, Mr. Joseph, 67
Shoji, Rev. G., 174
Smith, Dr. Frank Herron, vi, 183-184
Smith, Mr. Philip, vi
Smith, Dr. William C., vi, 70, 124
Steiner, Professor J. F., vi
Sun Yat-sen, 106

Tagashira, Rev. C. J., 182
Tang, Mr., 9
Tieh, Mr., 193
Togo, Admiral, 157
Tong, Mr. Eddie, 177
Tsuda, Rev. Mr., 174

Villaruz, Mr. Primo, 86
Villaruz, Mrs. Primo, 87

Watt, Dr. Ning, 145
White, Miss Mary, 156

White, Mr. William Allen, 156
Whitman, Mr. Marcus, 120
Wickersham Report, the, 57
Wilson, Miss Carol Green, 25, 175

Yasui, Mr. Matsuo, 66-67
Young, Professor Kimball, 59
Y. M. C. A., 8, 9, 129, 132, 157, 175, 191
Y. W. C. A., 9, 129, 156-157, 175, 191

Zumbo, Mr., 125

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